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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

OF THE

American Museum of Natural  
History.

Vol. VII.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND RITUALISTIC CEREMONIES OF THE BLACKFOOT INDIANS.

BY

CLARK WISSLER

NEW YORK:

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1912.

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

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### In Memoriam.

David C. Duvall died at his home in Browning, Montana, July 10, 1911. He was thirty-three years old. His mother was a Piegan; his father a Canadian-French fur trade employe at Ft. Benton. He was educated at Fort Hall Indian School and returned to the Reservation at Browning, where he maintained a blacksmith shop.

The writer first met him in 1903 while collecting among his people. Later, he engaged him as interpreter. Almost from the start he took an unusual interest in the work. He was of an investigating turn of mind and possessed of considerable linguistic ability. On his own initiative he set out to master the more obscure and less used parts of his mother tongue, having, as he often said, formed an ambition to become its most accurate translator into English. As time went on, he began to assist in collecting narratives and statements from the older people. Here his interest and skill grew so that during the last year of his life he contributed several hundred pages of manuscript. These papers have furnished a considerable part of the data on the Blackfoot so far published by this Museum and offer material for several additional studies. As they by no means exhaust the field his untimely death is a distinct loss.

To this work Mr. Duvall brought no ethnological theories, his whole concern being to render faithfully into English as complete information on the subjects assigned as could be found among the best informed Indians. Not being in any sense an adherent of Blackfoot religion, he looked upon all beliefs and ceremonies as curious and interesting phenomena worthy of sympathetic investigation.

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# American Museum of Natural History.

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*Clark Wissler*  
Monograph



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# AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOL. VII, PART I.

### THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE BLACKFOOT INDIANS.

BY CLARK WISSLER.

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## INTRODUCTION.

In this third paper on the ethnology of the Blackfoot Indians full recognition should again be given Mr. D. C. Duvall, with whose assistance the data were collected by the writer on a Museum expedition in 1906. Later, Mr. Duvall read the descriptive parts of the manuscript to well-informed Indians, recording their corrections and comments, the substance of which was incorporated in the final revision. Most of the data come from the Piegan division in Montana. For supplementary accounts of social customs the works of Henry, Maximilian, Grinnell, Maclean, and McClintock are especially worthy of consideration.

Since this paper is an integral part of an ethnographic survey in the Missouri-Saskatchewan area some general statements seem permissible for there is even yet a deep interest in the order of social grouping in different parts of the world and its assumed relation with exogamy, to the current discussion of which our presentation of the Blackfoot band system may perhaps contribute. We believe the facts indicate these bands to be social groups, or units, frequently formed and even now taking shape by division, segregation and union, in the main a physical grouping of individuals in adjustment to sociological and economic conditions. The readiness with which a Blackfoot changes his band and the unstable character of the band name and above all the band's obvious function as a social and political unit, make it appear that its somewhat uncertain exogamous character is a mere coincidence. A satisfactory comparative view of social organization in this area must await the accumulation of more detailed information than is now available. A brief résumé may, however, serve to define some of the problems. Dr. Lowie's investigation of the Assiniboine reveals band characteristics similar to those of the Blackfoot in so far as his informants gave evidence of no precise conscious relation between band affiliation and restrictions to marriage.<sup>1</sup> The Gros Ventre, according to Kroeber, are composed of bands in which descent is paternal and marriage forbidden within the bands of one's father and mother, which has the appearance of a mere blood restriction.<sup>2</sup> The Arapaho bands, on the other hand, were

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<sup>1</sup> Lowie, (a), 34.

<sup>2</sup> Kroeber, (a), 147.

merely divisions in which membership was inherited but did not affect marriage in any way.<sup>1</sup> The Crow, however, have not only exogamous bands but phratries. The Teton-Dakota so far as our own information goes, are like the Assiniboine. For the Western Cree we lack definite information but such as we have indicates a simple family group and blood restrictions to marriage. The following statement by Henry may be noted: "A Cree often finds difficulty in tracing out his grandfather, as they do not possess totems — that ready expedient among the Saulteurs. They have a certain way of distinguishing their families and tribes, but it is not nearly so accurate as that of the Saulteurs, and the second or third generation back seems often lost in oblivion."<sup>2</sup> On the west, the Nez Perce seem innocent of anything like clans or gentes.<sup>3</sup> The Northern Shoshone seem not to have the formal bands of the Blackfoot and other tribes but to have recognized simple family groups.<sup>4</sup> The clan-like organizations of the Ojibway, Winnebago and some other Siouan groups and also the Caddoan groups on the eastern and southern borders of our area serve to sharpen the differentiation.

The names of Blackfoot bands are not animal terms but characterizations in no wise different from tribal names. Those of the Assiniboine, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Teton-Dakota are, so far as reported, essentially of the same class. It seems then that the name system for these bands is the same among these neighboring tribes of the area and that it is an integral part of the whole system of nomenclature for groups of individuals. This may be of no particular significance, yet it is difficult to see in it the ear marks of a broken-down clan organization; it looks for all the world like an economic or physical grouping of a growing population.

We have seen in the Blackfoot system the suggestion that the band circle or camp circle organization is in function a political and ceremonial adjunct and that the exogamous aspects of these bands were accidental. So far as we know this holds to a degree for other tribes using the band circle.<sup>5</sup>

It seems probable that many discussions of social phenomena could be expedited if clear distinctions were established between what is conventional and what is the result of specific functions and adaptations. Unfortunately, our ignorance of the processes involved and their seeming illusiveness of apprehension make such a result well-nigh hopeless. By the

<sup>1</sup> Kroeber, (b), 8.

<sup>2</sup> Henry, 511.

<sup>3</sup> Spinden, 241.

<sup>4</sup> Lowie, (b), 206.

<sup>5</sup> See Mooney, 402; Swanton, 663; and Goldenweiser, 53.

large, conventional things, or customs, appear to be products of ideation or thinking. Now a band circle is clearly a scheme, a conception, that may well have originated within the mental activities of a single individual, a true psychic accident. Indeed this is precisely what conventions seem to be — customs, procedures or orders that happen to become fixed. A band, on the other hand, is not so easily disposed of. The name itself implies something instinctive or physical, as a flock, a grove, etc. Something like this is seen in the ethnic grouping of the Dakota since we have the main group composed of two large divisions in one of which is the Teton, this again sub-divided among which we find the Ogalalla, and this in turn divided into camps, etc. Though detected by conventionalities of language this dividing and diffusing is largely physical, or at least an organic adjustment to environment. Then among the Ojibway we have a population widely scattered in physical groups but over and above all, seemingly independent, a clan system; the latter is certainly conventional, but the former, not. Now the Blackfoot band seems in genesis very much of a combined instinctive and physical grouping, in so far as it is largely a sexual group and adapted to economic conditions. In its relation to the band system of government and its exogamous tendency it is clearly conventional. What may be termed the conventional band system consists in a scheme for the tribal group designated as a band circle. This scheme once in force would perpetuate the band names and distinctions in the face of re-groupings for physical and economic reasons. Something like this has been reported for the Cheyenne who have practically the same band scheme but live in camps or physical groups not coincident with the band grouping, hence, their band was predominatingly conventional. The following statement of the Arapaho, if we read correctly, is in line with this: "When the bands were separate, the people in each camped promiscuously and without order. When the whole tribe was together, it camped in a circle that had an opening to the east. The members of each band then camped in one place in a circle."<sup>1</sup> All this in turn seems to support the interpretation that the band circle system is merely a conventionalized scheme of tribal government. We have noted that among the Blackfoot the tribal governments are so associated with the band circles that they exist only potentially until the camps are formed; at other times each band is a law unto itself. So far as our data go something like this holds in part at least, for the neighboring tribes. As a hypothesis, then, for further consideration we may state that the band circles and the bands are the objective forms of a type of tribal government almost peculiar to this area, an organization of units not to be

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<sup>1</sup> Kroeber, (b), 8.

confused with the more social clans and gentes of other tribes to which they bear a superficial resemblance. In closing, we may remark that exogamy is often but a rule for marriage respecting some conventional groupings. The Blackfoot appear to have paused at the very threshold of such a ruling for their bands.

December, 1910.



## TRIBAL DIVISIONS.

As previously stated, there are three political divisions of the Blackfoot Indians. These were definite when the tribes first came to our knowledge and their origins have long had a place in mythology. The genesis of these divisions must forever remain obscure, though there are a few suggestions as to what may have been the order of differentiation. While the term Blackfoot has been used by explorers from the very first, it seems also to have some general significance among the Indians themselves. Thus, a Piegan will tell you that he is a Piegan, but if asked who are the Piegan, will usually reply that they are Blackfoot Indians. Naturally, this may be due to foreign influence, the idea of subordination to the Blackfoot division having grown out of knowledge that such a classification was accepted by the dominant race.<sup>1</sup> In the sign language, there appears no distinct designation for the group as a whole. According to our information the signs are:—

Blackfoot. Pass the thumb and extended fingers down the side of the leg and supplement by pointing to black.

Blood. Crook the closed fingers and draw across the mouth, the teeth showing. The idea is that of picking clotted blood from the mouth.

Piegan. The closed fist, fingers down, rubbed on the cheek. The idea is "poorly dressed robes," the sign signifying the rubbing of a skin.<sup>2</sup> One informant claims the name to have been given by the Crow because the first Piegan they killed wore a scabby robe.

To the many published stories accounting for the origin of the term Kainaw<sup>a</sup> (Blood) we add the following from the Piegan which is entirely consistent with the sign. A party of Piegan were found in the mountains frozen. They lay in a heap. Afterwards, the Blood taunted them by singing, "All in a pile." Some time after this, some Blood were found in the same condition but with dried blood and froth smeared on their faces. Then the Piegan retorted by singing and making the sign. In daily speech, the significance of kai seems to be some dried effluvium from the body, hence, the name.

Henry gives a great deal of information as to the Blackfoot but is not quite consistent in his classification, for though he recognized the three

<sup>1</sup> "All these Indians [Piegan, Blood, Blackfoot] are comprehended, by the Whites, under the general name of Blackfeet, which they themselves do not, however, extend so far, but know each of the three tribes only by its own proper name." Maximilian, Vol. 23, 96.

<sup>2</sup> See also Maclean. (a), 44; Clark, 73, 74.

historical divisions in his enumeration, he substituted two "bands" for the Blackfoot;<sup>1</sup> the Cold band and Painted Feather's band, implying that these were distinct and strong divisions into which the Blackfoot were divided. This may have been a temporary segregation under two dominant leaders. Henry estimated the strength of the Piegan as equal to all the other divisions combined, an estimate consistent with all our information and with tradition.

There are some linguistic differences between the three tribes but these are chiefly in the choice of words and in current idioms. The Northern Blackfoot seem to differ more from the Piegan than the latter from the Blood.

#### COURTSHIP.

It seems proper to begin the discussion of our subject with those conventions directly associated with sexual activities. Among the Blackfoot, as everywhere, the male is usually the aggressor. He lies in wait outside the tipi at night or along the paths to the water and wood-gathering places to force his attentions. This phase of sexual life is often expressed in myths and tales, intercepting the girl with her bundles of wood being the favorite.<sup>2</sup> Another manner of approach is by creeping under the tipi cover into the sleeping place of the girls. When countenanced by the girl's family, attentions may be received by day in full view of all, the couple sitting together muffled in the same blanket, a familiar Dakota practice. Naturally, the girl may offer the first invitation. The most conventional way is for her to make moccasins secretly for the youth of her choice, this being regarded as the first proper step. Curiously enough, when married the young bride is expected to make a pair of moccasins for each of her husband's male relatives. Then they will say, "Well, my female relative (nĭmps) is all right, she makes moccasins for us." As the wife usually goes to live with her husband's people, this is something of a formal demonstration of her worth to his family.

To all appearances, at least, virginity is held in very great esteem and extreme precaution is taken to guard the girls of the family. They are closely watched by their mothers and married off as soon as possible after puberty. For a girl to become pregnant is regarded as an extreme family disgrace. She will be scolded privately; but none of the family will speak

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<sup>1</sup> Henry and Thompson, 530.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 2, 58, 109.

of the matter in public if it can be avoided, they bearing their shame silently. No special demands are made of the co-partner in her shame, the girl alone being the one held responsible. Marriage may result, but the initiative is usually left to the man, since he is not regarded as having erred or fallen into disfavor. The formal virginity tests and puberty ceremonies practised among the Siouan tribes seem to have no place in Blackfoot society. The male lover enjoys unusual liberties. His efforts at debauchery are not only tolerated but encouraged by his family and should he lead a married woman astray is heralded as a person of promise. Thus, while great pains are taken to safeguard young girls, boys are, if anything, encouraged to break through the barriers.

While the flageolet is a favorite adjunct of courtship among many tribes of the area, its use in this connection seems to have been ignored by the Blackfoot. They did, however, resort to charms and formula known collectively as Cree medicine, a subject to be discussed in another paper. From what information we have, the pursuit of the female was much less in evidence than among the Dakota and other Siouan tribes.<sup>1</sup> We found no traces of conventional modes of registering conquests as among the young men of the Dakota and Village Indians.<sup>2</sup>

#### MARRIAGE AND ITS OBLIGATIONS.

—Before proceeding, it should be noted that the courtship discussed in the preceding has no necessary relation to marriage, and may continue secretly after one or both are married. Proposals frequently come from the parents of either the girl or the man and often without the knowledge of one or both of the contracting parties. Mr. Grinnell has described in some detail what may be regarded as the most ostentatious form of proposal,<sup>3</sup> making it unnecessary to discuss the matter here. In general, it appears that the negotiations are carried on between the fathers of the couple or between the father and his prospective son-in-law. If successful, the next step is the exchange of presents. Grinnell denies that there is an idea of wife purchase in these transactions,<sup>4</sup> but when discussing divorce on the following page says the husband could “demand the price paid for her.” According to our information, the idea of purchase is still alive, though the woman herself may, as Grinnell claims, be regarded as more than a chattel. Even to-day,

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<sup>1</sup> Wissler, (b).

<sup>2</sup> Maximilian. Vol. 23, 282-283.

<sup>3</sup> Grinnell, 211-216; see also McClintock, 185.

<sup>4</sup> Grinnell, 217.

the bridegroom is expected to give a few horses and other property to the bride's parents, and though presents are often sent with the bride, the bridegroom must return at least two-fold.<sup>1</sup> In former times, it is said, well-to-do families prepared the bride with an outfit of horses, clothing, etc., and paraded over toward the band of the bridegroom to be met in turn by a similar procession and outfit. The chief object here was a parade of wealth, that all the people might see the social excellence of the two families; for, as just stated, the bridegroom must in the end pay a price over and above the mere exchange of presents.

A Piegan to whom the text was read commented as follows:— They do pay for their women. When a man punishes his woman, he generally remarks that he paid enough for her, and, hence, can do with her as he will. On the other hand, if a man who gives few presents or pays nothing, becomes exacting, the woman's relatives will remark that as he paid little or nothing he should desist; they may even take her away and find another husband for her.

There is a belief that the father-in-law was for a time entitled to part of the spoils of the chase and war, especially the latter. During the period between the proposal and the marriage, the hunt was delivered to the tipi of the prospective father-in-law and when cooked a portion was carried to the young man's tipi by the girl.

The formal marriage ceremony was simple, the couple taking their proper places in the tipi and assuming at once their domestic responsibilities. The husband was expected to hunt and accumulate horses; the wife to prepare the food, make the clothing, etc. He had no great obligations to her in his associations with other women; but she, on the other hand, must strictly respect her compact. As the hour of marriage approached, the girl's relatives gave her a forceful talk on her obligations and the shame of adultery. Her attention was called to the important part a virtuous married woman may take in the sun dance as well as her fitness to call upon the sun for aid in times of trial. She was threatened with death, if she yielded to temptation. Formerly, it is said, a wife was often executed for committing adultery. Should the husband fail to do this, her relatives would often carry it out to save the name of the family. Such executions are described as having been barbarous beyond belief. Later, the woman's nose was cut off; several women now living bear these marks of shame.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "There is no particular marriage ceremony among the Blackfeet; the man pays for the wife, and takes her to him; the purchase-price is announced to the father of the girl by a friend or some other man. If he accepts it, the girl is given up, and the marriage is concluded. If the wife behaves ill, or if her husband is tired of her, he sends her home without any ceremony, which does not give occasion to any dispute. She takes her property and retires: the children remain the property of the husband." Maximilian, Vol. 23, 110.

<sup>2</sup> See Maximilian, Vol. 23, 110.

If the husband was a head man, he used his own judgment as to the woman's guilt and it is believed that the penalty was often due more to his unreasonable jealousy than to real knowledge of his wife's guilt. Yet, in any event, the disgrace and shame for the relatives of both husband and wife was so great that extreme penalties for mere suspicion were considered justifiable, if the interested parties were of some importance in social life. Another form of punishment was for the husband to call on the members of his society to deal with the woman, whom they debauched in the most shocking manner and turned out of doors to become a prostitute. Not many years ago, a young man called in all his friends, and delivered his faithless wife to them for such treatment.

The lending of wives was looked upon as a disgrace, or at least as irregular. A distinction should be made, however, between the favorite wife and other wives. These others were often captured women from other tribes, violated by a war party before becoming members of a household. Such were often loaned by their masters without exciting public dissent. It may have been such women that came to the notice of Henry and excited his extreme contempt.<sup>1</sup>

#### PLURALITY OF WIVES.

There were no restrictions as to the number of women taken to wife, but no woman could have more than one husband. Economic conditions, however, were unfavorable to a household of many wives, so that many men kept but a single wife and very few indeed ventured to support as many as five. On the other hand, a man of importance was expected to have two or more wives, suggesting wealth and resourcefulness. Plural wives speak of themselves as *niskas* (married to the same man) or, if of considerable difference in age, as elder and younger sisters. In the normal order of events, the first wife is the real, or head wife (she who sits beside him). A man may depose the head wife and confer the right upon another; but such was regarded as unusual, except where the provocation was great. When he went upon a journey, the head wife alone usually accompanied him. In the transfer of medicines, she took the woman's part and afterwards cared for the bundle. It seems that in this function, at least, she was secure from the whims of her husband. Again, there is the belief that the marriage obligations demanded more of her; the other wives, especially if young, were generally assumed to have lovers among the young men even though such was formally forbidden.

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<sup>1</sup> Henry and Thompson, 526; also Maximilian, Vol. 23, 109.

It is said, that sometimes the intimate friends of a young man about to marry would ask for the loan of his wife after marrying, but that in such cases the wife rarely yielded to his requests as she was always upheld in an appeal to his or her relatives. In the absence of other data, it is not safe to consider this a survival of former practices. However, it should be considered a possible phase of the distant-wife relations.

#### POTENTIAL WIVES.

The sisters of a wife are spoken of as "distant-wives" and may be, in a way, potential wives, though it is not clear that there was any obligation involved when plural marriages were permitted. If a man proved to be a good husband, it is said, he might be given the "distant-wives" in turn, but there was no compulsion. The marriage of sisters was justified on practical grounds, they being more likely to live together in harmony. If there was a twin brother, the distant-wife relationship applied to him also; if not an actual twin but an inseparable companion (nitâks ok kowömmaul) the same term would apply, though in these cases to a less degree.

There is, however, a curious social custom still in force by which a man and his distant wives are expected, on meeting, to engage in bold and obscene jests concerning sexual matters. This is often carried to a degree beyond belief. Thus, there is not only the same freedom here as between man and wife, but the conventional necessity for license. As practically all other relatives by marriage are forbidden the least reference to such subjects, the force of the exception is greatly magnified. For example, a man will not even relate the obscene tales of the Old Man and other tales containing such reference in the presence of his brothers-in-law nor before their immediate relatives. If we add to this an equal prohibition against the presence of his sisters and female cousins, we have marked out the limits of this taboo. Thus, it appears that with respect to this taboo, the distant-wives are placed in an exaggerated sense in the category of real wives. Other familiarities of a man with his distant-wives are strictly improper.

#### THE MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.

The preceding may be a phase of the well-known mother-in-law taboo. Among the Blackfoot, still, a man should not speak to his mother-in-law, or even look at her. The taboo is equally binding upon her. If one is discovered about to enter the tipi where the other is present, some one gives



warning in time to avoid the breach. Should the son-in-law enter, he must make her a present to mitigate her shame; should the mother-in-law offend, she must also make a small return. However, as usual with such taboos, there are ways of adjusting this restriction when necessary. If the son-in-law is ill, she may, in case of need, care for him and speak to him; upon his recovery the taboo is considered as permanently removed. Each may call on the other when in great danger, after which they need not be ashamed to meet. Sometimes when a man went out to war or was missing, his mother-in-law would register a vow that if he returned alive, she would shake hands with him and give him a horse and feel no more shame at meeting. The son-in-law may remove the taboo by presenting a few captured guns or horses. Some informants claim that four such presentations were necessary, after which his mother-in-law would take him by the hand and thus remove the taboo. She may receive support from her son-in-law but, even with the taboo removed, must not live in the same tipi with him, a small one being set up outside. It is observable that the presents for removing the taboo bear some analogy to those made the father-in-law during the first months of married life and may be genetically related to that practice.<sup>1</sup>

The counterpart of this taboo does not prevail, since a man need not avoid his daughter-in-law, his association with her being governed by the conventions applying to his own daughters. Yet, it is not looked upon as quite right for a man to spend too much time at the home of his son. On the other hand, for a man to live with his father-in-law, or spend a great deal of his time there, excites ridicule.

### DIVORCE.

The chief grounds for divorce from the man's point of view, are laziness and adultery. For these or any other causes he may turn his wife out of doors. The woman then returns to her relatives where she is cared for and protected until another marriage can be arranged. The husband usually demands a return for the property he gave for her at marriage; he is sure

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<sup>1</sup> Among the Mandan, we are told, "the mother-in-law never speaks to her son-in-law; but if he comes home, and brings her the scalp of a slain enemy, and his gun, she is at liberty, from that moment, to converse with him."—Maximilian, Vol 23, 283. Among the Assiniboin the father-in-law taboo may be so removed.—Lowie, (a), 41. For the Cree we may add:—"Amongst our visitors was the son-in-law of the chief; and, according to Indian custom, he took his seat with his back towards his father and mother-in-law, never addressing them but through the medium of a third party, and they preserving the same etiquette towards him. This rule is not broken through until the son-in-law proves himself worthy of personally speaking to him, by having killed an enemy with white hairs; they then become entitled to wear a dress trimmed with human hair, taken from the scalps of their foes." Kane, 393.

to do this if she marries again. From the woman's point of view, adultery does not justify divorce, but neglect and cruelty may result in abandonment. She flees to her relatives where she is safe from attack. The husband's family then opens negotiations with her relatives and an attempt at adjustment is made. The woman's family usually agrees to another trial, but may finally decide to find her another husband. Then her husband demands a settlement and is entitled to equivalent return for what he gave at marriage. Thus, formal divorce is really a restitution of the husband's marriage gifts, or a refund of the purchase price.

In general, divorce seems not to have been common as it was looked upon as disgraceful under all circumstances and grievously expensive. The behavior of the husband was softened by his knowing that in case of continued discord his wife's relatives were certain to interfere except she were charged with adultery and even in that event would retaliate if the accusation was manifestly unjust.

When the husband dies, the wife usually returns to her relatives who again arrange for her marriage.

#### RELATIONSHIP.

The most important relationships in life are given in the accompanying table where the equivalents in our nomenclature are given for the Piegan terms: first, if the person considered is male, second, if female. In general, it appears that the terms as applied by males to males are more restricted and definite than those of males to females and females to persons of both sexes, though in function the terms are so used as to be equally intelligible. Thus, while a girl uses the term, father, in addressing men married to her mother's sisters, she does not confuse this relation with the real one. On the other hand, it appears that the system as given in the table is ordered on the theory that sisters become the wives of the same man. This is also consistent with the distant-wife relationship previously discussed. Further, the system seems adapted to a gentile band organization in that the relationships of the women are more inclusive on the father's side; this, however, is not entirely consistent.



*Relationships.*

Terms	Significance as Applied to Males.	Significance as Applied to Females.
ní'nna	my father	my father and husbands of my mother's sisters.
niksó'stak	my mother and her sisters; wives of my elder brothers, brothers of my father and of my mother.	my mother and her sisters; wives of my father's brothers.
ní'ssa <sup>x</sup>	my elder brothers and all those of my mother; the elder (to me) sons of my father's and mother's brothers.	my elder brothers and all those of my father and mother; the elder sons of mother's brothers and sisters.
ní'nst	my elder sisters and elder daughters of father's and mother's brothers.	
ní'nsta		my elder sisters and elder daughters of father's brothers and sisters.
ní'skōn	my younger brothers and younger brothers of my father; all my younger first cousins by brothers of my parents.	
nissí'ssa		my younger brothers and sisters; all of my younger first cousins.
nicinnaua <sup>x</sup> s	my father's father, my mother's father; also can be used for father-in-law.	
nitau'ka <sup>x</sup> s	the mothers of my father and mother and my father's sister; also my mother-in-law.	
naa' <sup>x</sup> sa		all my paternal and maternal grandparents. Also my father's sisters and their husbands.
naa' <sup>x</sup> s	my father-in-law, mother-in-law; also may be used for grandparents.	
nĩmps	wives of my sons, younger brothers, and younger cousins.	wives of my cousins, of my brothers and of the brothers of my mother.
nistōmmo'-wak	husbands of father's and mother's sisters; also my sister's husband.	
nĩtaw'to-jombp		husbands of my sisters.

There is a peculiar artificial relationship among boys which attracts attention. Many of them have a male companion from infancy almost inseparable. The pairs are usually of the same age and grow up together as it were; they play together, they go to war together, they aid each other in courtship and in after life call on each other for help and advice. These bonds often last until death.<sup>1</sup> The terms of relationship for brothers are sometimes used by them and it is not unusual for them to assume the equality of twins. Thus, a twin will speak of his mother's wife as his distant-wife, a term often used in the same way by the relation alluded to above.

Persons of any age or nationality may be adopted into a family. Formerly a man losing a son might adopt a young man from his own or other bands, or even a captive, to fill the vacant place; an old woman might, on her own initiative, do the same thing. Very often the bosom friend of the deceased would be recognized as a son by adoption, obliterating his true family ties. In late years, a number of white men have been adopted as a mark of respect and in all cases of this kind, the Blackfoot expect the nominal support of a son to his parents. The ceremony of adoption is not as elaborate and fixed as among the Dakota and some other Siouan tribes, though a form of this ceremonial relation is used in the transfer of medicines.

#### NAMES.

Each individual has a name. The name is single in that there is neither family nor band name; though some persons, especially men, possess several names, these are co-ordinate and never used jointly. The right to name the child rests with the father; though he rarely confers it in person unless a man of great importance. He usually calls in a man of distinction who receives presents in return for his services. A woman may be called, but less often than a man, be the child male or female. There is no fixed time for this, but it is not considered right to defer it many weeks after birth. The namer asks to have a sweat house made which he enters, often in company with the father and other men he chances to invite. After the usual sweat house ceremonies, the namer suggests two or three names for consideration by the family. A selection is then made, the father, in any event, having the right of final approval. Prayers are usually offered by the namer.

<sup>1</sup> Mooney finds something similar among the Cheyenne and makes a vague statement as to its wide distribution, Mooney, 416. However, it is difficult to eliminate the instinctive from the conventional in a comparative statement of this custom.

The giving of the name is regarded as of very great importance since the child's doing is believed to influence the fate of the child during the entire span of life. The virtue of the naming is greatly enhanced, if the officiating person is one of great renown.

The name chosen may have various origins. As a rule, it will be the name of some person long dead, if possible one of great distinction. Thus, the writer was in a way adopted by a Blood head man, who gave him choice of two names, one that of a distinguished warrior, the other of a great chief. If a person living is known to bear the preferred name, it is slightly modified by the change or addition of attributes. Thus, a man may become White Dog, or simply Dog, to distinguish the bearer from another of the same name. In all such cases, there is the feeling that the name carries with it some power to promote the well being of him to whom it is conferred. Again, a father may name the child from deeds of his father, as Two-guns, Takes-the-shield, etc. As a rule, unless he has weighty deeds to his credit, the father will not himself venture to confer a name. As a rule, there is the feeling that unless the name is of great worth, the fates will be adverse to the named. Sometimes, one may have a dream or hear a voice that gives him power to confer a name; it goes without saying that such is considered highly efficacious.

Mothers usually give the baby a special name according to some characteristic habit or expression. This name is rarely used by others.

Women seldom change their names but men always do. When the youth goes on his first war party his companions give him a new name. This name often carries with it an element of ridicule and should the youth show reluctance at its proposal it will be changed to Not-want-to-be-called-etc. After the party has returned the family will say to the youth, "Well, I suppose you have a new name: I suppose it is the name of some old grandmother etc." Then the youth is forced to give his new name which is certain to excite great merriment and teasing. Later, when the youth performs some worthy deed, he will be given a new and more dignified name. This will be his name as a man, though subject to change at any time. Names are sometimes formally changed at the sun dance by the chief-weather-dancer who announces, "Now, if you wish this man to aid you, if you call upon him for help, etc., you must address him as ————". His other name is now left behind at this place." At other times the change of names is less formal and may be at the sole initiative of the person concerned. In practice, it seems that a man never really abandons a name though always spoken of by the last conferred or current name since he may say that he has two, three, or any number, as the case may be, enumerating all those given him during his life. While to ask a man his name is

very rude, he himself seems free to speak of it on his own initiative. The custom seems to rest upon ideas of politeness, since not to have heard a man's name even before meeting him is said to reflect upon his good standing among the people.

#### BANDS.

Each of the three tribes is composed of bands, *kaiyok' kowönmmostüjaw*, implying not only bonds of friendship but bonds of blood.<sup>1</sup> These bands have been discussed by Grinnell who considers them true gentes<sup>2</sup> though he states that in recent times, at least, the adherence to exogamy was not absolute. For our part, we have met with many contradictory statements and observations among the Indians now living, so that we can do no more than offer what seems to be the most consistent view of the data available.

In the first place, while the band is a definite group in the minds of the Indians and every individual knows to what band he belongs, they manifest uncertainty as to how membership is determined and as to its bearing upon marriage restrictions. There is, however, no evidence of a belief in a band ancestor, human or animal; and, hence, no band totem. The name of the band has no relation to a founder but is supposed to designate, in a way, some peculiarity common to the groups as a whole. Thus, the names are in theory and kind the same as tribe names — Blood, Piegan, etc.—originating normally after the manner of object names in general and apparently not in conformity to some system or belief concerning descent or relationship.

At marriage, the wife goes to her husband and is considered as belonging to his band. The general feeling seems to be that the children belong to the band of their father. Should the father die, the mother and children will go to their relatives best able and willing to care for them, but the children will always be called after their father's band. Should the mother's relatives in her own band be few and not as able to care for the children as the father's people, they remain in the father's band. These relatives may live in the same band, but in any event, the mother takes the dependent children with her. Should she marry in another band, as is frequent, her

<sup>1</sup> As to the origin of the term band, used so generally by the older writers and traders of this area, we have a suggestion from Keating: "The term *band*, as applied to a herd of buffalo, has almost become technical, being the only one in use in the west. It is derived from the French term *bande*." Keating, 379. We may venture that the use of this term for a head man and his following among the Indians of this same area was suggested by the analogy between the two kinds of groups, these old naïve observers not being blinded by sociological preconceptions.

<sup>2</sup> Grinnell, 223-224.

children may reside with her in their step-father's band. There is no rule governing cases of this sort and it is said that the children usually go to the band in which they have the strongest ties. Yet, they are seldom really lost to the sight of the father's band and are often reminded by them that they properly belong to their band. Thus, it seems that the bands are in part, at least, gentes. Yet a man may change his band even in middle life.<sup>1</sup>

For a man to join the band of his wife at marriage is not unusual. The reasons for such changes are usually selfish, in that greater material and social advantages are offered, but we have no suggestion of such transfers being made with the idea of recruiting a depleted band. A man who changes his band may become a head man or even a chief without hindrance, as in the case of a well-known Piegan chief now living. Thus, it appears that there is no absolute rule of descent in band membership and that what bonds exist are rather those of real blood relationship than of an artificial system. Further, it appears that continuous residence or association with a band is practically equivalent to membership therein. The individual seems free to select his band.

To marry within the band is not good form, but not criminal. Thus, when a proposal for marriage has been made, the relatives of the girl get together and have a talk, their first and chief concern being the question of blood relationship. Naturally, the band affiliations of the contracting parties cannot be taken as a criterion since both may have very near relatives in several bands and cousins of the first degree are ineligible. Should the contracting parties belong to the same band but be otherwise eligible, the marriage would be confirmed, though with some reluctance, because there is always a suspicion that some close blood relationship may have been overlooked. Thus, while this attitude is not quite consistent, it implies that the fundamental bar to marriage is relation by blood, or true descent, and that common membership in a band is socially undesirable rather than prohibitive. If we may now add our own interpretation, we should say that the close companionship of the members of the band leads to the feeling that all children are in a sense the children of all the adults and that

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<sup>1</sup> On this point, the following statement of a Piegan informant may be worthy of note: A man may go into another band and live there if he choose, nothing much being said about it. Sometimes a man may not like the chief of his own band and so go to another. There is neither announcement nor formal adoption, he simply goes there to live. For a time, it may be thrown out to him that he belongs elsewhere but after a while he is always spoken of as a member. When a band begins, it may be a group of two or three brothers, fathers, and grandfather, or a small family band (which means the same thing); later, friends or admirers of the head man in this family may join them until the band becomes very large. Bands may split in dissention, one part joining another or forming a new one. A new group is soon given a name by other people according to some habit or peculiarity. They do not name themselves.

all the children are brothers and sisters and to a natural repugnance to intermarriage. Further, since most of the men in a band are in theory, of common paternal descent, even the informal adoption of a stranger would tend to confer upon him the same inheritance which as time dulled the memory would become more and more of a reality. In any event, the attitude of the Blackfoot themselves seems to imply that the band system came into existence after the present marriage customs and adapted itself to them rather than they to it.

A woman is called *numps* by all members of her husband's band, not his actual relatives. She may speak of all male members of the band older than herself as grandfather while the younger males may in turn speak of her as mother. Sometimes men of the same age as her husband, speak of her as "distant-wife." While this may be consistent with a theory of gentile band organization in opposition to other data secured by us, our opinion is that it is at least equally probable that these terms were originally applied as marks of respect and circumstantial association, and consequently of little value as indicating the genesis of the band relations.

We must not permit the question of exogamy to conceal the important political and social functions of the band system. As one informant says, "the members always hang together at all times." In another place, we have noted how the responsibility for the acts of individuals is charged to the band as a whole and how all are bound to contribute to the payment of penalties and even risk life and limb in defense of a member guilty of murder. In such, we shall doubtless find the true function of the Blackfoot band. The confusion as to exogamy seems to arise from the fact that blood ties tend to hold the children to the band of the father.

The tendency is for each band to live apart. When a band becomes very weak in numbers or able-bodied men, it takes up its residence beside another band or scatters out among relatives in various bands, but this is from necessity rather than choice. At present, the Blackfoot reserves are dotted here and there by small clusters of cabins, the permanent or at least the winter homes of the respective bands. By tradition, this was always the custom, though tipis were used instead of cabins. When two or more bands choose to occupy immediate parts of the same valley, their camps are segregated and, if possible, separated by a brook, a point of highland, or other natural barrier. The scattering of bands during the winter was an economic necessity, a practice accentuated among the Thick-wood Cree and other similar tribes. Something was lost in defensive powers but this was doubtless fully offset by greater immunity from starvation. In summer, the bands tended to collect and move about, both for trade and for the hunt. From what information we could secure, this seemed to be a natural congre-



gation under the leadership of some popular man, usually a head man in his band. While the tendency was for the bands as a whole to join such leaders, it often happened that part of a band cast its lot with one group and part with another; however, such unions were usually temporary, the whole band being ultimately re-united when the tribe finally came together, either to trade at a post or to perform a ceremony.

Grinnell gives a list of the bands which he implies are to be taken as existing about 1860 and this agrees quite well with the information we secured. From the foregoing, it is natural to expect changes at any time. Since the names seem particularistic in their significance, we give only Mr. Duvall's translations. For the Blood and North Blackfoot, our list is less complete.<sup>1</sup>

#### Piegan Bands.

- |                            |                               |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Solid-Topknots          | 13. Many-medicines            |
| 2. They-don't-laugh        | 14. Small-robos *             |
| 3. Worm-people             | 15. Red-round-robos           |
| 4. Blood-people            | 16. Buffalo-dung              |
| 5. Black-patched-moccasins | 17. Small-brittle-fat         |
| 6. Black-doors             | 18. Undried-meat-in-parfleche |
| 7. Fat-roasters            | 19. Lone-fighters             |
| 8. Skunks                  | 20. No-parfleche              |
| 9. Sharp-whiskers          | 21. Seldom-lonesome           |
| 10. Lone-eaters            | 22. Early-finished-eating     |
| 11. White-breasts          | 23. Short-necks               |
| 12. Short-necks            |                               |

#### Blood Bands.

- |                  |                     |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Fish-eaters   | 5. Many-children    |
| 2. Black-elks.   | 6. Many-lodge-poles |
| 3. Lone-fighters | 7. Short-bows       |
| 4. Hair-shirts   |                     |

#### North Blackfoot Bands.

- |                   |             |
|-------------------|-------------|
| 1. Many-medicines | 4. Biters   |
| 2. Black-elks     | 5. Skunks   |
| 3. Liars          | 6. Bad-guns |

These lists are doubtless far from being complete. Even among the Indians themselves confusion seems to exist as to some names since a band may be known by two or more names. Under these conditions we deemed the preceding data sufficient to our purpose. Mr. Grinnell explains the

<sup>1</sup> For another list of Blood bands, see Maclean, (c), 255. For a Piegan list, see Uhlenbeck, (a).

existence of bands of the same name among the various divisions as due to members of the bands leaving their own tribe to live with another. As we have no data on this point it must pass, though we see no reason why some of the band names may not be older than the tribal divisions. On the other hand, some of the translated names for Gros Ventre bands as stated by Kroeber are identical in meaning with some of those found among the several tribal divisions of the Blackfoot. Again, we are not ready to accept unconditionally the opinion of Grinnell that the disparity between band ties and blood ties is due to the gradual disintegration of tribal life, having previously stated our reasons for assuming the system of blood relationship the older form and pointed out that the band is rather political than otherwise.

#### THE CAMP CIRCLE.

As among many tribes, there was a definite order of camping when the circle of tipis was formed. While Mooney may be correct in his claim that the circle of the Cheyenne is their fundamental social organization, it cannot be said that the circle of the Blackfoot holds a very close objective relation to their organization. In the first place, each division (Blackfoot, Blood and Piegan) had its own circle and there are no traditions that they were ever combined. When a circle is formed, all visitors from other divisions must, like those from strange tribes, camp outside and apart. Further, there is a firm belief among the Piegan that the circle was never formed except for the sun dance and certain related ceremonies connected with the beaver medicine. It seems likely that if the circle were fundamental and not of recent origin, there would be traces of a parent circle and vestiges of rules governing its formation. Further, as among the Cheyenne, there is no great unanimity of opinion as to the order of the various bands in the circle but at the sun dance the leading men decide arbitrarily any doubt that may exist as to the place of a particular band. The further discussion of this point may be deferred until we take up the sun dance and its problems.

The opening in the circle is to the east and the order of bands is enumerated from the south side of the opening, as in the characteristic ceremonial order of movement. The present order for the Piegan is as given in the list.

#### TRIBAL ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL.

In a way, the band may be considered the social and political unit. There is, in a general sense, a band chief, but we have failed to find good grounds for assuming that he has any formal right to a title or an office.



He is one of an indefinite number of men designated as head men. These head men may be considered as the social aristocracy, holding their place in society in the same indefinite and uncertain manner as the social leaders of our own communities. Thus, we hear that no Blackfoot can aspire to be looked upon as a head man unless he is able to entertain well, often invite others to his board, and make a practice of relieving the wants of his less fortunate band members. Such practices are sure to strain the aspirant's resources and many sink under it; but he who can meet all such demands soon acquires a place in the social life of the band that is often proof against the ill fortunes of later years. This phase of their social life is very much alive, having survived not only the changes in economic conditions brought about by the reservation system but the direct opposition of its officers. This story is oft repeated: a young man takes to stock raising, accumulates cattle and horses, gradually taking into nominal employ all his less able relatives who thus come to depend upon him. Presently, he wakes up to the situation and entertains an ambition to become the leading head man of his band, or even of all bands. Then begins a campaign. He makes feasts, gives presents, buys medicines, and supports ceremonies; thus making his home the center of social and ceremonial activities, the leadership of which he assumes. His rivals are stirred to activity also and the contest goes on apace. From observation, we believe that bankruptcy is the usual result; but, unless this comes at the very beginning of the effort, the aspirant acquires enough prestige to give him some claim to being a head man for the rest of his days even though he becomes a hanger-on at the door of a younger aspirant.

Thus, the head men are those who are or have been social leaders. Naturally, individual worth counts in such contests and he who is born to lead will both in matters great and small. In former times, these rivalries often led to assassination and other dark deeds.

Before the reservation system came in, deeds of the warpath were also essential to the production of a head man, for in them was the place to demonstrate the power to lead. Great deeds in social and ceremonial life would alone elevate one to the status of a head man, though as a rule the warpath was the line of least resistance.

These head men of uncertain tenure come to regard one or two of their number as leaders, or chiefs. Such chiefs rarely venture to act without the advice of some head men, as to stand alone would be next to fatal. In tribal assemblies, the head men of the bands usually look to one of these as spokesman, and speak of him as their chief.

While the tenure and identity of a head man is thus somewhat vague, his functions are rather definite. He is the guardian and defender of the

social order in its broadest sense. Of this, he is fully conscious; as, for example, no man of importance will accept an invitation to visit for a time in a distant band or tribe without calling a consultation. Should some head men of his band indicate disapproval, the invitations will be declined. The theory is that the welfare of his band is endangered by his absence. Above all, the head men are expected to preserve the peace. Should a dispute arise in which members of their band are concerned, one or more of them are expected to step in as arbitrators or even as police officials if the occasion demand. When it is suspicioned that a man contemplates a crime or the taking of personal vengeance some head men go to his tipi and talk with him, endeavoring to calm him, giving much kind advice as to the proper course for the good of all concerned. If he has been wronged, they often plead for mercy toward his enemy. Again, the head men may be appealed to for redress against a fellow member of the band. In the adjustment of such cases the head men proceed by tact, persuasion, and extreme deliberation. They restrain the young men, as much as possible, after the same method. In all such functions, they are expected to succeed without resort to violence.

For mild persistent misconduct, a method of formal ridicule is sometimes practised. When the offender has failed to take hints and suggestions, the head men may take formal notice and decide to resort to discipline. Some evening when all are in their tipis, a head man will call out to a neighbor asking if he has observed the conduct of Mr. A. This starts a general conversation between the many tipis, in which all the grotesque and hideous features of Mr. A's acts are held up to general ridicule amid shrieks of laughter, the grilling continuing until far into the night. The mortification of the victim is extreme and usually drives him into temporary exile or, as formerly, upon the warpath to do desperate deeds.

When there is trouble between members of different bands, the head men of each endeavor to bring about a settlement. Thus, if one of the contending party is killed, the band of the deceased sends notice to the murderer's band that a payment must be made. In the meantime, the murderer may have called upon a head man of his own band to explain the deed. The head men then discuss the matter and advise that horses and other property be sent over to the injured band at once. A crier goes about with the order and members of the band contribute.<sup>1</sup> This offer may be refused by the injured band and a demand made for the culprit's life. No matter how

<sup>1</sup> One informant commented on this paragraph as follows: When the payment is made it is through the head men of the bands concerned. The head man of the band to which the wronged party belongs is given the offerings and he passes on them. When he judges them ample, he takes them to the wronged party and tells him to drop the case now since he has received full damages.

revolting the offence, the band is reluctant to give up the accused without a fight. If no presents are sent in a reasonable time, the injured band assembles in force and marches out. A head man meets them for a conference, but a fight is likely. After a conflict of this kind, the band killing the greatest number moves to a distant part of the country and when the camp circle is formed keeps in sight but far out to one side. This separation may continue for a year or more. In all such disputes between bands, the head men of other bands may step in to preserve the peace; but, according to report, they seldom accomplish anything.

Taking the Piegan, Blood, and Blackfoot as tribes, we may say that there was a head chief for each. His office was more definite than that of a band chief, though he was not formally elected. All the head men of the various tribes came by degrees to unanimity as to who would succeed the living chief, though the matter was rarely discussed in formal council. The main function of the tribal chief was to call councils, he having some discretion as to who should be invited. Some writers claim the Blackfoot appointed two chiefs, one for peace and one for war; but we could find no evidence for this, except that some band chiefs came to have special reputations for ability as war leaders and were likely to be called upon in time of need. They were not, however, regarded as head chiefs. While the office of head chief was not hereditary, there was a natural desire among the chief's band to retain the office; thus it is said that among the Piegan most of them have been members of the Fat-roasters.

Everything of importance was settled in council. While each band was represented there was no fixed membership; yet the head chief usually invited those in excess of one member for each band. There seems to have been no formal legislation and no provisions for voting. In former times, the council was rarely convened except in summer. At the end of the fall hunt, the bands separated for the winter to assemble again in the spring at some appointed place. Even in summer they would often camp in two or three bodies, each one under the leadership of some able-bodied band chief, coming together for the sun dance at which time only the whole tribal government was in existence.

The organized men's societies among the Blackfoot were, when in large camps, subject to the orders of the head chief or executive of the council and on such occasions seem to have exercised the functions of the head men of the respective bands. This subject will be taken up under another head, but it is a matter of some interest to note how, when such camps were formed, the head men of the bands were merged into a council for the whole and the men's societies became their executive and police agents under the direction of the head chief. Thus, when there was danger, certain societies were

detailed to guard duty, especially at night. As the chief aim of an organized summer camp was to hunt buffalo and the success of a general hunt depended upon successful co-operation, the discipline was devised to that end. The head chief gave out orders for making and breaking camp, and rules and punishments were announced. Thus, a man found running buffalo or riding about outside without orders might have his clothes torn off, be deprived of his arms, his horse's ears and tail cropped. Should he resist, he might be quirted and his hair cropped. His tipi and personal property might be destroyed. However, these were extreme punishments, it being regarded as best to get along by persuading the would-be wrong-doer to desist. The punishment inflicted by the members of societies were not personally resented, as they were acting entirely within their rights. As to whether the men's societies were police by virtue of their own membership, or whether they were individually called out to form an independent body is not certain, but will be discussed elsewhere.

A long time ago Nathaniel J. Wyeth<sup>1</sup> set down some interesting theories concerning the economic reasons for the unorganized state of the Shoshone in contrast to the buffalo-hunting horsemen of the Plains. He doubtless sensed a truth in so far as the camp organization of the Plains is considered as a type of government having for its chief function the supervision and conservation of their immediate resources. Perhaps of all cultural phases in this area, the one most often detailed in the older literature is the organization and control of the camp when pursuing buffalo. So far as we have read, the accounts for the different tribes are strikingly identical and agree with the data from the Blackfoot. In most every case, the horse, the tipi, the camp circle, and the soldier-band police were present, even though the participants, when at home lived in houses and cultivated corn. That the camp circle, or band circle, is a special type of tribal political organization in this area seems obvious. It would be suggestive to know just how some of the tribes having clan organizations adjusted themselves to this scheme when using the circle.<sup>2</sup>

#### PROPERTY RIGHTS.

When a man dies his property is raided by the relatives. The older sons usually take the bulk but must make some concessions to all concerned. If the children are young, the father's relatives take the property. In any

<sup>1</sup> Schoolcraft, 205-228.

<sup>2</sup> We have heard that the Winnebago used a provisional band scheme for the circle, entirely independent of their regular social organization and in conscious imitation of the Dakota. If this proves correct, it will throw some light on the whole problem of bands and camp circles.

event, nothing goes to the widow. She may, however, retain her own personal property to the extent of that brought with her at marriage. She may claim, though not always with success, the offspring of her own horses. These are horses given her by her relatives and friends. Though not clearly thought out, the feeling seems to be that as the widow returns to her band she is entitled to take only such property as she brought with her at marriage.

At the death of a wife, her personal property is regarded as due her relatives, and may go to her daughters, if grown, otherwise back to her band. Theoretically, at least, the woman owned the tipi, the travois, the horse she rode, her domestic implements and clothing. Even to-day, when the white conception of property tends to dominate, a man seldom speaks when his wife bargains away her own hand-work, bedding, and house furnishings.

Formerly, disputes concerning property were taken to the head men for adjustment: now the settlements of estates go to the authorized Indian court. Property was bequeathed by a verbal will. A man would state before witnesses and his relatives what horses and property were to go to the wife, to the children, etc. At present, written wills are sometimes executed to protect the family. Under the old régime, the relatives sometimes disregarded the wishes of the deceased and left nothing for the widow and children; but, if a woman of good character with many relatives, she was seldom imposed upon.

In the division of meat from a co-operative hunt, the best cuts went to the chief, the medicine men, and the owners of medicine pipes. This is somewhat at variance with the usual democratic way of doing things and bears a striking resemblance to a similar custom among the Western Cree. In an individual hunt anyone approaching a man engaged in butchering was given meat, sometimes even the last piece. However, he was certain of being invited later to eat.

#### DIVISION OF LABOR.

The women dress the skins, make their own clothes and most of those used by men. They make most of their own utensils: the tipi, the travois, the riding-gear, prepare and cook the food, gather the vegetables and berries, and carry the wood and water. As the greater part of the baggage, when travelling, is their property, they bear the burden of its transportation. It is a disgrace both to himself and his women, for a man to carry wood or water, to put up a tipi, to use a travois, to cook food when at home and above all to own food or provisions.<sup>1</sup> While the men usually did the butcher-

<sup>1</sup> An informant states that this applies especially to married men: that in some cases a young single man is called upon to get water after dark, or at any time when it is very cold, a woman may call upon a young man to get wood.

ing, the meat on arriving at the tipi became the property of the women. A young man may cook food but in seclusion. There is a pretty tale of a young fellow surprised by his sweetheart while cooking meat. He threw the hot meat into the bed and lay upon it. The girl embraced him and fondled him while the meat burned deeply into his body; but he did not wince.

In the tipi, a man seldom rises to get a drink of water but calls on the women to hand it to him. The men often make their own ornaments and sometimes their leggings and coats. The painted designs upon men's robes and upon tipis are made by men; those upon parfleche and bags are by women.

### BIRTH CUSTOMS.

As the period of pregnancy nears its end the women discard their bracelets and most of their metal ornaments. They dress in old clothes and affect carelessness of person. Should a person look fixedly at one, she will say, "Don't. My child will look like you; you are ugly," etc. As the hour approaches, they retire to an isolated tipi where they are attended by other women, men not being admitted. A medicine woman may be called, who usually administers decoctions for internal use, supposed to facilitate delivery. For bearing down, the patient holds to a pole of the tipi, an attendant grasping her around the waist. When delivered she is laced up with a piece of skin or rawhide as a support. She is then required to walk or creep about in the tipi for a while instead of resting quietly, in the belief that recovery will be hastened thereby. The after-birth is thrown away and not placed in a tree as among the Dakota.

Men should not approach the birthplace for a period as their medicine and war powers would be weakened thereby. The father may enter but at some risk. It is bad luck for men to step upon the clothing of the newly born or touch those of the mother; lameness and other disorders of the feet and limbs will surely follow.

Birth marks are regarded as evidences of re-birth. Boys so marked are believed to be returned warriors bearing honorable scars. Twins are neither regarded with suspicion nor especially favored. What data we have seem to be against infanticide even in the case of great deformities. Tales emphasizing the enormity of the crime are told of mothers to whom suspicion attributed the death of such unfortunates. The still-born, it is believed, will be born again.



## MENSTRUAL CUSTOMS.

There is no special taboo upon a menstruating woman requiring her to live apart but she is not supposed to come near the sick. The belief is that in such a case something would strike the patient "like a bullet and make him worse." Further, at this time, women are supposed to keep away from places where medicines are at work. These restrictions also apply to immediate associations with men and to women lax in virtue.

## CARE AND TRAINING OF CHILDREN.

Large families seem not to have been unusual though I have never seen many children with one woman. Some old men now living claim to be fathers of more than twenty children each, though not by a single mother.<sup>1</sup> The young children, at least, receive considerable attention and some discipline. They are sometimes punished by a dash of cold water or a forced plunge. In former times, some old men were charged with responsibility for each boy's morning bath in the stream regardless of temperature; hence, children were admonished that these men would get them. Striking a child is not regarded as proper. The favorite hoggie is the coyote, or the wolf. Women will say, "Now, there is a coyote around: he will get you." Sometimes they say, "Come on wolf and bite this baby." Such words often compose lullabies, a favorite one being, "Come, old woman, with your meat pounder smash this baby's head." After the use of intoxicants became general, children were threatened with a drunken man.

From the first, children are taught to respect all the taboos of the medicine bundles owned by the family and those of their relations and guests. Girls are taught to be kind and helpful, to be always willing to lend a hand, to be virtuous and later, to respect their marriage vows. Special stress is laid upon virtue as a "fast" girl is a disgrace to all her relatives. All children are expected to retire early and rise early. They must respect the words and acts of the aged and not talk back to elderly people. They are taught to take "joking" gracefully and without show of temper. All "tongue-lashing" is to be taken quietly, without retort. Should a child be struck by his equal, to retaliate in kind is proper. All requests for service or errands made by elders, are to be rendered at once and in silence. The ideal is the child that starts to perform the service before it is asked; or,

<sup>1</sup> "These Indians often have many children, who generally run and play about quite naked, and swim in the river like ducks. The boys go naked till they are thirteen or fourteen years old, but the girls have a leather dress at an early age." Maximilian, Vol. 23, 110.

if asked, before the last word of the speaker is uttered. Talkativeness is almost a crime in the presence of elders. The ideal is he who sits quietly while the adults talk. If he is teased, he may smile but not speak. Above all, when grown up, he should be self-controlled as well as firm and brave.

Boys were taught to care for the horses and to herd them by day: girls to carry wood and water and to assist with other children and household duties. Before marriage, girls must be proficient in the dressing of skins, the making of garments, and the preparation of food. About the time of puberty, boys are expected to go to war. Singly or in pairs they may get permission to accompany a war party, provided they have shown efficiency in hunting. At such times, they receive new names, as previously stated. While the boy is expected to go to war, his family not only uses persuasion to keep him at home, but often forbids his going. In any event, he gets permission or goes secretly. It is said, that in this way the virtue of both parents and sons is shown.

We failed to find definite evidences of puberty ceremonies aside from the boy's change of name. Certain other small ceremonies may be noted. Often when a child takes its first step or speaks its first word, the parents are adroitly reminded that it is their duty to do something. Then they give out presents or make a feast to which all the relatives contribute. Ear-piercing is also somewhat of a ceremony and may be accompanied by a display of wealth, except when performed at the sun dance. An old woman is called for this service and, in imitation of a warrior counting coup, calls out just before piercing an ear, "I have made a tipi, worked a robe, etc., with these hands."

#### DEATH AND MOURNING.

When one is taken ill the family sends for a medicine man, promising him a horse. If the family is of some importance they may call in a number of such men, to each of whom a horse is promised. They sit around the tipi and work their magic powers in turn while their women assist with the songs. Food and other comforts must be provided for them and their enthusiasm stimulated by gifts of additional horses. A long acute illness will deprive the family of its accumulated property. Often a man will tell you that he is very poor now since he or some of his relatives have been ill for a time. Medicine men usually permit the family to keep the gift horses until needed and often transfer, or sell, their claims to a third party. Should the patient die, they leave at once, often taking with them all the loose property of the family.

If a person dies in a house it is abandoned, or afterwards torn down and



erected elsewhere, as the Blackfoot believe the ghost of the deceased haunts the spot. Should a young child die, the house will be abandoned for a time only. In former times, the tipi was abandoned or used as a burial-tipi.

When all hope for the patient is abandoned, he is painted and dressed in his best costume and, at present, often taken out of the house to a tipi so that it may not be necessary to tear down the building. After death the body is wrapped in a blanket, formerly in a robe, and buried within a few hours.<sup>1</sup>

In recent years, the Indians have been forced to use coffins and to practise interment. These are placed upon high hills and barely covered with earth and stones. No effort is made to mark the spot and fear keeps all the mourners far from the place. Indeed, it is difficult to persuade any one to go near a known burial site. Some distinguished chiefs rest in houses built on lonely hills. In former times, tree burial was common but now rare, only one example having come under our observation. A person of some importance was placed in a tipi on some high place. The edges of the tipi cover were often weighted down with stones, circles of which are often met with on elevated positions. Persons usually make requests of their families that certain personal belongings are to be buried with them. Sometimes the request is for a horse; in this event, one will be killed at the burial place. It was quite usual for the tail and mane of a man's favorite horse to be cut at his death.

At death, or its announcement, there is great wailing among the women, who gash their legs and often their arms. Their hair is cut short, a practice often followed by the men. Such hair should be thrown away and not handled or used for any practical purpose. Women may wear a single bead over one ankle for a time. In former times, a man would take to the warpath and go along indifferently, neither seeking enemies nor avoiding them if encountered. At present, they go on a long visit to some distant relative. If a man owning an important medicine bundle loses a dear relative he may be moved to cast it into the fire or otherwise desecrate it because of its failure to prevent death; hence, a person once owning such a bundle takes it away at once. After a time, medicine men approach the mourner with suggestions that it is well to take up the care of his bundle now. When he consents, a sweat house is made and after the ceremony, the mourner is painted and newly dressed. The medicine bundle is then brought into his tipi and he resumes his former functions. While the preceding is the normal order of events, men have been known to destroy medicine bundles in the face of great opposition.

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<sup>1</sup> See Maximilian, Vol. 23, 121.

During the mourning period — an indefinite time — the man may dress in the meanest possible clothes, neglect his hair and person, and live in a small dilapidated tipi. However, there seems to be less formality in this than among the Dakota, and the spectacular abandonment of the mourning state often observed among the Teton is wanting.

In this connection, may be mentioned a practice not unlike "running a-mok," though apparently without mania. A man realizing that he is the victim of an incurable disease may with more or less deliberation arm himself and attempt the life of all persons he may meet. He will announce that as he must die, he expects to take as many with him as possible. The records of the reservations will show a number of killings brought about in this way. Thus, a man took his wife out to a small hill, shot her and took his stand against his pursuers, whom he held at bay to his last cartridge with which he, though badly wounded, took his own life. An attempt of this kind came under the observation of the writer while camping with a Blood band. A young man suffering from consumption, slightly intoxicated and threatened with arrest for disorderly conduct, announced to his family one night that he expected to kill all of them and as many of the camp as possible. Fortunately, while he attacked his wife with a knife, his rifle was spirited away and the camp aroused; yet, as he kept out of reach, it was necessary to hold him off with guns until dawn, when he fled in terror of capture alive. Many officials attribute such outbreaks entirely to intoxication, but the evidence we have gathered indicates that there is a conventional side to the practice and a strong probability that it is a variant, and in some respects a survival, of taking to the warpath. Officials and many Indians, respect the convention to such an extent that every effort is made to prevent persons fatally afflicted becoming aware of the fact until near the hour of death. The writer found a similar practice among the Teton, though it seemed that one life is regarded as sufficient, the doomed man usually taking his own life after a short interval.

#### TALES OF ADVENTURE.

Many Blackfoot men now but a half-century old took part in raids and fights, or went on the warpath, so that now, as of old, deeds of war are important social assets. In former times, only men of great deeds were called upon to perform certain public and ceremonial functions, a custom still in force but naturally less binding. While there are other social ideals, such as owning important medicines, becoming a head man and possessing wealth, that of being a successful warrior can scarcely be over-

estimated. The tale of adventure as told by the chief actor is the delight of the fireside and entrances old and young alike when delivered by a skillful narrator. Other tales, those of tradition and hearsay, are seldom offered as it is the custom for one to narrate his own experiences, a rather high ideal of truthfulness being entertained. Of course, there are historical traditions, but they are usually given in brief without much life. Adventures with animals and of the hunt have a place, but are of far less social significance. The following is offered as a type of war narrative and also because it gives a very clear picture of just how an expedition for plunder was conducted. It was narrated by Strangle Wolf, a very old man, and recorded by Mr. Duvall.

It was in the fall of the year. I was living with Lazy Boy, for he was an uncle of mine. Lazy Boy was one of the chiefs of the Blackfoot Indians. In the evening, Lazy Boy said to me, "Strangle Wolf, we will go out for some Assiniboine horses." This meant, of course, to steal them. "I have plenty of extra pairs of moccasins. We shall need them, for we are going to travel on foot."

Somehow, Lazy Boy's father-in-law, Heavy Shield, heard of this, came over that night, and said to him, "Lazy Boy, you must not go this time. You can come over in the morning and take my best horses; I don't want you to go. I have had bad dreams."

Then the old man returned to his lodge. Lazy Boy only laughed and said to his wife: "Go tell your father that I won't listen to him this time. I must go and get some horses to give him, for the Indians never give him any even when they have many. Another thing is that I have my party ready and will start in the morning."

In the morning, we all started. There were thirty of us in the party. Lazy Boy was the leader. He was noted as a fast walker, and asked me to take the lead with him. Lazy Boy fell to telling me about things he said I ought to learn. He said, "Whenever you are out with a war party, as we are now, and all are on foot, you should keep close to the leader, for if you hang back at the tail end you will always be in a trot to keep up with the others; but if you are in the lead you can keep the gait and not become tired so soon." Another thing he said to me was, "When we get to the Assiniboine camps, you must try to get the horses tied close to the lodges for they are the best horses. The Assiniboine always keep up their best horses at night while they drive the others out to the hills."

We went down the Missouri River. The game was plentiful. Buffalo and elk we saw on our way, so we did not go hungry. Everyone had a little pack of meat on his back and his extra pairs of moccasins. When the sun went down we camped for the night. We made three lodges with sticks and bark. After we had cooked and eaten some meat, the chief said we must sing the wolf songs. These songs are supposed to give us good luck, on a trip, i. e., if we truthfully tell what our sweethearts said when we left them. Each man is supposed to sing a song in which are a few words his sweetheart said to him.

After we got through singing, all went to sleep. In the morning, we all started out again. When the sun was high, we saw something a long way off resembling a person. The Chief said, "It must be an Assiniboine. We must go after him and kill him." So we all ran toward him, and as we approached he seemed to be making

signs to us. When we got up to it, we found out that it was a black stump with its black branches sticking out like arms. As we all went on, I heard some of the men say that it was a bad sign.

We travelled many days and nights, until we came to a lot of timber along the river. It was snowing and very cold. The Chief always kept two men ahead to look over the tops of the high hills, so that we would not run into some of the Assiniboiné that might be waiting for us. At this place we all stopped and the chief called out to two men, "You go across the river to see if you can find out just where the Assiniboiné camps are. We must be close to them now. We will wait for you here." The two men took off their clothes, tied their leggings and shirts around their heads so as to be able to put them on dry when they got across. The river was wide and deep and the two men swam across. We all waited. When the sun was getting down close to the mountains, Chief Lazy Boy said to one of the men, "Why can we not cross and wait for them there? It is too cold for the two men to swim back again."

So we all got a few poles, tied them together and put a rawhide on top of them. Then we put our clothes and guns on top of that. Then four men tied ropes to the raft and taking the ends of the ropes in their mouths swam across. When we all got across the chief said, "Although we are very cold we must not make a fire, for we are close to the camps. They would see the smoke."

The sun had just gone down when the two scouts came back, saying to the chief, "We saw two men leading their horses down to the river. Their horses were loaded with meat, so the camps cannot be far off." We waited here a long time until it stopped snowing. The moon was shining brightly. A little later on we heard dogs barking. It was nearly morning when the Chief said, "Come, let us go, it is nearly daylight." All went on until the Chief stopped, when we all stopped beside him. He took a stick and, beating time with it on the barrel of his gun, sang his war song, looking up at the moon. Once he used the following words: "Elk woman, try your best." When the Chief had finished, the others in turn sang their war songs. Then we all started again. After we got close to the camps the Chief told me to go back and tell two of the men to come with him, but for me to stay back with the others. He said, "We shall go through the camp to find out where the best horses are. Then we shall come back to inform you, and then we can all go together." I told the two men and they went off with him, while the rest of us stayed in the brush. About daybreak, we heard a sound as if someone were riding along. Some of the men said it was a loose horse. One of the men went out to look for signs of our party. At the time the chief left us, four men from our party followed him. Thus there were seven. It is believed to be unlucky when there are only seven in a war party. Any way, it proved to be at this time. It was just daylight when we heard three shots, and at the same time the men who went out came back to us saying, "You said that was a loose horse we heard, here is what its rider lost." He carried a gun-sack, ramrod, and a saddle blanket. We all got up and ran up the river as fast as we could. We had not gone far when we heard more shooting, war whoops, and galloping horses. We kept on until we got to a place where there was thick timber. We stayed there all day. We heard no more noise for we were now too far away. When night came we all crossed the river and travelled part of the night until we came to one of our old camping places. Our brush lodges were still there. We had planned to meet there after we got our horses. We saw a light in one of them and when we went in we saw one of the men who was with our Chief. He got up, shook hands with us all, and then began to tell about it. He said, "When we all got near the

camps, we met an Assiniboiner who ran back into the camp. Then we started back to where we had left you. We had not gone far before we heard three shots. We did not go fast, but when we got to where we had left you we saw that you were gone. Then the chief said that you must have crossed the river. So we began to cross too. We were just about in the middle, when the Assiniboiner came upon us, and began to fire. When we got across a number of the enemy were there for their horses could swim faster than we and of course they headed us off. Then we had a fight. There were only three guns for us to fight with for while we were crossing four of the men lost their guns in the water. Two of our men were killed at the beginning of the fight. Our Chief kept encouraging us saying that we must fight and die bravely for some day our people would hear of our sad end. All this time dirt was flying around us where the bullets struck. The smoke of the guns was like a fog a little above our heads. The Chief was shooting and talking to the Assiniboiner, telling them that many of them would fall before the last of us. We kept them away as much as we could, but sometimes they would try to run us down with their horses. After we wounded several of them, they kept at a distance. When the sun was getting close to the mountains, our Chief was killed. Our ammunition was nearly all gone. There was a loose horse near by. I jumped on him and rode away. Then the Assiniboiner took after me. When I got to some thick brush, I jumped off the horse and ran into the brush. They took the horse and went back. Then I came on afoot. That is how I come to be here with you now.

We all lay down to rest for the night and about daybreak started home. Just then the other three men came along. They got away from the Assiniboiner after dark. We travelled on for many nights and days until we reached home.

When we got home we stopped on a hill near the camp, but did not sing the song of victory. We gave the sad sign that three warriors had been killed. One of our men stood out alone, took three robes and, while the people in the camp were watching, threw them away one by one. Then the Indians all knew that three of our party had been lost and came running out to meet us.

Of a somewhat different character were the adventures of Many White Horses as narrated a short time before his death:

The Piegan were in camp at Ft. Benton. Rations gave out, so they broke camp about sundown and pitched again after dark near some brush. I planned to go on a raid against the Flathead for horses. Next morning, a large party joined me and we went on to High Wood where we met and camped with a white man and his Indian wife. I traded my black and red blankets for his white ones. We followed the south bank of the Missouri, the berries were ripe, game was plenty and fat and the journey was pleasant. We followed up the Bear Tooth, or South Fork, where the railroad runs now. When one day's march from the Flathead country, a storm came up, and beat the tall grass down flat. In jest, I said to Calf Necklace, "Let us go on alone. I believe that when we get out the wind will go down." Soon we came to an open country and to a cliff. Looking over we saw a river and a Flathead camp. We returned to tell our party but lost them. We could not trail them as the grass was down. Then we gave the call for having seen an enemy. The party answered and soon joined us. Then we made a medicine smoke and gave prayers for success.

I have a war-bonnet with four songs. When transferred to me, my face was painted and the songs taught. When near the enemy I go through this in the same

way. I painted my powder horn and bullet pouch. I carried two awls, mending materials and extra moccasins.

There was no moonlight that night. We walked down to the Flathead camp and found some of them still awake. Nearly all were drunk and had not tied up their horses. One horse, however, was tied to a tipi pole, a striped pinto. My party scattered every one for himself. Some had guns, some bows. The horses were wild so they were run up a hill into brush. The men now worked by twos and threes driving five to ten horses each. After we got into the brush some were caught. I mounted at last. I decided to follow the ridge of the mountain. The way was rough and many of our horses got away. I went in the lead to pick the way. It snowed and made going slow. At last we lost the way and stopped to rest and repair moccasins. Soon the weather cleared and we found the top of the ridge but the snow was very deep. It took us all the next day to reach the gap at Sun River Pass. The next night we started down to the plains. Two of my men got very tired and sleepy so we stopped to rest them. All lay down, but overslept and awoke at dawn. When I awoke I called out and all jumped up scared. I was angry with myself. Our horses were gone.

Now, it seems that when the Flathead discovered their loss, a party set out on our trail. While we slept they passed near and camped far in advance in a little valley. Our escape was certainly due to my songs and medicines.

We found most of the horses and started on. As I learned afterwards, the Flathead saw us going over a ridge. We watered our horses at Sun River and went on. I went on ahead to look over a ridge. As I came back the party signalled something wrong. They had found the tracks of the Flathead party. As we went on we saw two antelope and stopped for one to pursue them. Then Calf called out, "Flatheads are after us."

They dashed out of a valley and killed one of us before we could mount and soon after, another. Our party began a dash for home. It was funny to see one fellow's leggings slip down to his ankles and get tangled under his horse. My horse was strong so I rode behind whipping the others. As the Flathead were good shots we scattered some. I could hear our pursuers talk but not understand them. After a while, I saw that their horses were very tired: so I directed our course over the tops of the hills. As their horses soon gave out, they dismounted to rest. When out of sight we turned back toward Sun River and hid in the brush. It seemed a very long day. One of our party was wounded and some had lost their clothes. When night came we started again. Some rode double so there would be blankets to cover all. The next day we spent on the Teton; the next near Dupuyer, where we found the old camp fires of our people. Finally we got home.

#### HERALDRY AND PICTURE WRITING.

The term deed as used by us has the same social significance as coup, a full discussion of which has been given by Grinnell.<sup>1</sup> Without going into details, it seems that among the Blackfoot, the capture of a weapon was the coup, or deed, rather than the formal striking of the enemy, though such

<sup>1</sup> Grinnell, 248. Also *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 12, 296.



was also taken into account. Our impression is, from what we have heard in the field, that there was no such formal development of the coup practice as among many other tribes. An old man relating his deeds seldom mentions scalps but dwells upon the number of guns, horses, etc. captured; whereas, according to our observation, a Dakota boasts of his wounds, enemies slain and coups. However, heraldry was a prominent feature in Blackfoot life. By this term, we mean those conventions by which deeds are recorded and accredited, with their social privileges and responsibilities. Anyone with such recognized deeds is likely to be called upon to name a child, to perform special services in social functions as well as specific parts of ritualistic ceremonies. In all cases of this kind the warrior comes forward and in a loud voice states what deed or deeds he has performed and immediately renders the required service. For this, he may receive presents unless the occasion is one of special honor. In theory, at least, the formal announcement is a kind of challenge for contradiction by any of the assembly in so far that it implies the eligibility of him who makes it. Women do not ordinarily perform such deeds but often recount the embroidering of robes, their resistance of temptation, etc., when about to perform some ceremonial function, a truly analogous practice.

As elsewhere, the graphic recording of deeds was chiefly by picture writing, upon robes, back-walls and the outsides of tipis. A few might be indicated upon leggings, but in general, garments were not considered the place for such records. The outside and inside of the tipi were the conventional places. Good examples of this are still to be seen. An unusual tipi was collected by the writer in 1903, bearing several hundred figures, representing sixty-six distinct deeds most of which were performed by seven Piegan then living. The tipi was in reality one of the "painted lodges" to be discussed under another head, but may be considered here merely as a good example of picture writing and heraldry.

In the sketches, Fig. 1 is a small vertical section of the tipi cover. Its entire circumference to about half the height is one continuous array of sketches. From this series a number of typical groups were reassembled in Fig. 2. Beginning at the top in Fig. 1, we have Bear Chief (a) on foot surprised by Assiniboiné Indians but he escaped; (b) Double Runner cut loose four horses; (c) Double Runner captures a Gros Ventre boy; (d) Double Runner and a companion encounter and kill two Gros Ventre, he taking a lance from one; (e) even while a boy Double Runner picked up a war-bonnet dropped by a fleeing Gros Ventre which in the system counts as a deed; (f) as a man he has two adventures with Crow Indians, taking a gun from one; (g) he, as leader, met five Flathead in a pit and killed them; (h) a Cree took shelter in some cherry brush in a hole, but Big Nose went

in for him; (i) not completely shown, but representing a Cree Indian killed while running off Piegan horses; (j) Double Runner, carrying a medicine pipe, took a bow from a Gros Ventre and then killed him; (k) Double Runner took a shield and a horse from a Crow tipi, a dog barked and he was hotly pursued; (m) he killed two Gros Ventre and took two guns;

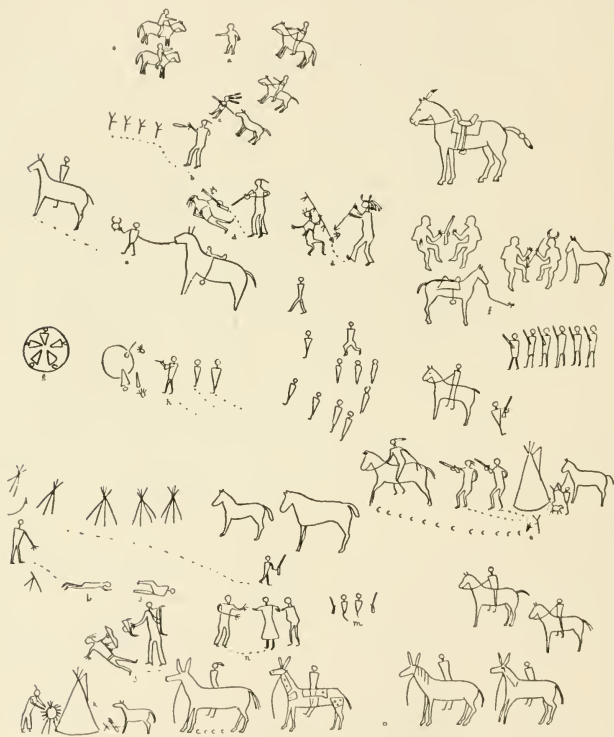


Fig. 1 (50-4485). Section of a decorated Tipi.

(n) he captured a Gros Ventre woman and a boy; (o) he took four mules. From this sample, it will be noted that a great deal is left for the memory, though a little practice will enable one to determine the character of the

<sup>1</sup> For a complete series for one individual with illustration, see Maclean, (a), 119.





common types of adventure are recognized and allowed to control the composition to such an extent that even a stranger may interpret the sketches with confidence. Of course, the function of such writing is to objectify the formal recounting of deeds, only such performances as are so recognized and carry with them social and ceremonial values being considered worthy of a place in the series.

From the many examples collected, we selected the following more or less conventionalized symbols:

Wounds received or given are indicated by a black spot with a dash of red for bleeding. Enemies killed, when not fully pictured, are represented by a row of skeleton figures as in Fig. 3a, a form always used in heraldic horse decorations. In the pictured form, death is often indicated by three wounds—in the head, heart and thigh, Fig. 3b. A scalp taken is

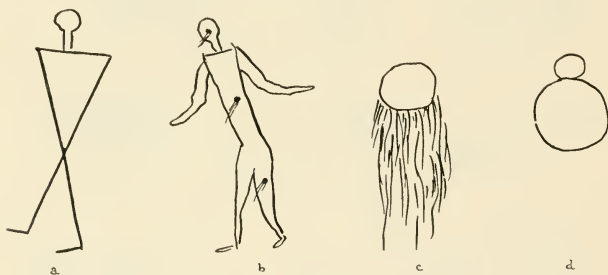


Fig. 3. Symbols used in War Records.

symbolized by human hair and white weasel skin, except in painting when the symbol is as in Fig. 3c.

The capture of the enemies' property, or a deed, is indicated by pictures of the objects recognized as worth considering. While naturally, there is difference of opinion, the following may be taken as the approximate list of captures conferring ceremonial rights:—horses, guns, shields, lances, bows and quivers, shot-pouches and powder horns, daggers, war-bonnets, and all medicine objects. The following order or rank, was given by an informant recognized by the Piegan as an authority in heraldry:—gun, lance, bow, the enemy's life, cutting a horse loose from a tipi, leading a war party, acting as a scout, shields, war-bonnets, a medicine pipe, and driving off loose horses. The most significant point is that while the life of an enemy is fourth, the capture of his gun is first. When a man was seen to fall with a gun, it was not unusual for one or more young men to rush boldly out to

snatch the prize. To ride up, jerk a gun from an enemy's hand and get away without injury to either party was the greatest deed possible. While in picturing such deeds realistic forms are used, as the symbol for a shield (Fig. 3d), they are often greatly conventionalized. Blankets, if counted, are shown as rectangles with one or two cross lines for the stripes on most trade blankets. Horses taken in open fight, when not pictured, are represented by track symbols, Fig. 5d and under the sketch of a mule in Fig. 1. The rectangular variant as found among many other tribes is not used as an equivalent.

Stealing a horse tied up in the enemies' camp is a deed of special importance and naturally has a definite symbolism. This case is of some interest




Fig. 4. Methods of recording the Capture of Horses.

here because we find among our collection practically all the steps between the full pictured form and the bare symbol. Thus, we find drawings showing the adventurer cutting loose horses picketed near the tipis, Fig. 4; again, the cutting represented by a knife and a hand, the pickets alone representing the horses so taken, and finally, a series of crossed lines. The last is the simplest form but may be said to be an alternate with the preceding one, some persons representing the picket stake one way, some the other. The Hidatsa<sup>1</sup> are reported to use the crossed lines for a coup and the Teton use it as a rescue symbol (a coup saved from the enemy); hence, its substitution in Blackfoot records for the more realistic form of picket stake may have been due to suggestion.

A war party intrenched is indicated by a circle (Fig. 5c); sheltered in a wind brake, by an open circle (Fig. 2). A camp may be represented by a series of tripods, signs for tipis (Fig. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Hoffman, 73; Maximilian, Vol. 23, 287.

Two functions of the warpath are honored by distinct symbols; that of leader and scout. The symbol for leader is shown in Fig. 5a and is given once for each party led. In like manner, the sign in Fig. 5b indicates having been detailed as a scout. The origin of these cannot be definitely traced, but the second is said to be a diagrammatic representation of the course taken by a scout with reference to the main body. Thus, the curve represents the war party waiting and the zigzag line the course always taken by the scout to conceal their true position. This seems probable, but no rational theory for the origin of the leader's sign was encountered.

 The coup stick, striped like a barber's pole, used by the Cheyenne, seems not to have been known among the Blackfoot except its analogous form in a boy's game. The Dakota stick made by binding together two long rods with spiral decorations and four pendants of feathers with scalp locks was seen in the hands of an old man; he, however, frankly avowed

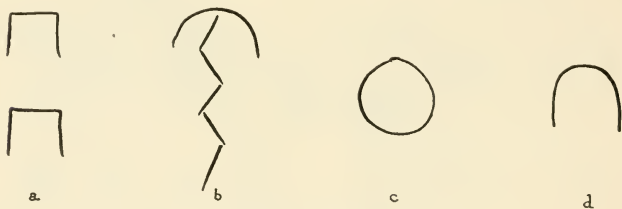


Fig. 5. Highly conventionalized symbols.

having made it in imitation of those seen by him when visiting the Assiniboine.

In a general way, it appears that the Blackfoot show some individuality in the conventions of picture writing. Some data we collected from the Gros Ventre show many of the same forms, however, and in the absence of good data from the Crow and other neighboring tribes, it may be that this individuality is more apparent than real. On the other hand, the Blackfoot make little use of such writing for the presentation of religious experiences as is the case among many Central Algonkin tribes and to a much less degree among the Dakota. While the Dakota have developed some heraldic symbols as conventional as those just described by us, they have, in addition, a very complex and highly developed feather symbolism, a feature almost lacking among the Blackfoot. Yet, the latter showed a tendency to use the white weasel skins for the same purpose. More than this can scarcely be said until additional data are at hand.

In this connection, it may be well to note that by a system of signs, a

war party left definite information for the guidance of stragglers or other parties of their tribe on similar errands. On leaving a camp site, a willow bent V-like was stuck in the ground, the apex in the direction taken; if the distance to the next camping place was small, the angle was quite acute, etc. Another sign, used chiefly on the trail, was the mark of a travois, or two converging lines, the apex toward the direction taken. Indeed, the twig is spoken of as a travois sign. Explicit directions were often left for a second party by a kind of map marked in the sand or in bare earth. A sketch by the writer from such a map made at his request is shown in Fig. 6. Two branches of a river are represented easily recognized by one having a knowledge of the country. The travois marks indicate the direction of movement. Pebbles painted black or pieces of charcoal mark the proposed camping places, the number in each case indicating the length of stop.

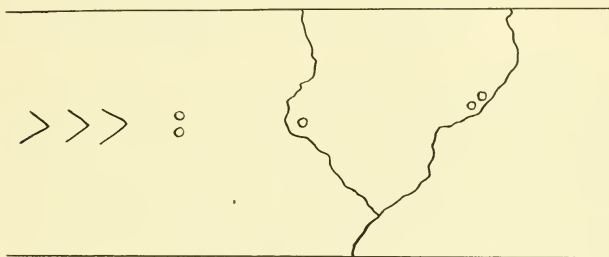


Fig. 6. A sand Map showing the Course of a War Party.

Thus, the sketch would imply that the next camp would be one day's journey from the nearest river; whence, after a stay of two nights, they camped one night on the nearest fork and two nights on the second. To indicate that they were joined by a second party, the travois signs are used to denote two paths converging on a camp site. A sketch giving more details is shown in Fig. 7. By the travois signs leading to *a* we know that two parties of Blackfoot combined and camped two nights, thence moved to a second camp, *b*. While here, they met and fought enemies, indicated by two sticks painted red. Between the two sticks are two bones (shoulder blades) upon which the result of the engagement is pictured. Then the party moved on to *d* where this sketch was left.

In cases where the stops were by day and travel by night, yellow pebbles were used instead of black. Mountains were indicated by small heaps of pebbles. Marks were often made on stones and other objects along the

trail. In case a peaceful meeting occurred, instead of the red painted sticks, black ones were chewed on one end and tobacco tied on the other. The practical value of all these marks is obvious. When a war party was over due, search was made by following the trail whence from the signs its career could be determined, even to the identity of the wounded or killed, etc.

We did not gather much information as to signalling codes, though the system seems to have been highly developed. When a war party returned the members paused for a time upon a hill in sight of the camp until attention to them was noted.<sup>1</sup> Then, if a victory was won at small cost they sang songs for a while and came to camp slowly. If the leader or an important

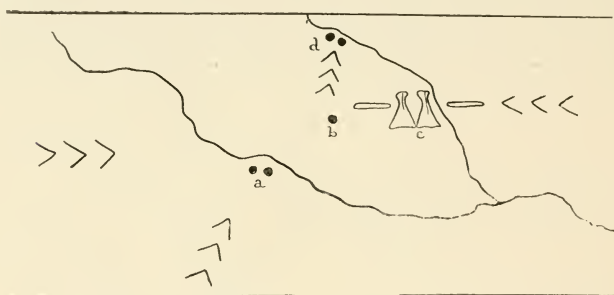


Fig. 7. Map recording a Battle.

man was killed, a robe was held up on a stick and then dropped. If ordinary men were killed, one of the party stepped aside and threw down a robe, once for each. For a wounded leader, a robe was held aloft but not dropped. They then entered the camp silently while the women began wailing and performed the usual acts of mourning.

#### RECKONING TIME.

As far as our information goes, the time of day was noted by the sun and the night by the position of Ursa major, the Seven Stars. The year was designated by the winter, each winter constituting a new year. Two divisions or seasons were recognized; spring and autumn were regarded as originating with the whites. Each season was considered as composed of moons;

<sup>1</sup> See Maximilian, Vol. 23, 118.

the period during which the moon was invisible taken as the beginning of another moon. We found little consistency in the nomenclature of moons, our information implying that they were considered more by numerals than by names. The tendency was to count the moons from about October, the beginning of winter or the new year. Variation seems to have been due to the fact that calendar counts were kept by a few individuals, usually medicinemen, who modified the system according to their own theories. One man who kept a calendar gave the following list:—

Winter Moons.	Summer Moons.
1. Beginning winter moon	Beginning summer's moon
2. Wind moon	Frog moon
3. Cold moon	Thunder moon
4. Two-big-Sunday moon	Big-Sunday moon
5. Changeable moon	Berry moon
6. Uncertain moon	Chokecherry moon
7. Geese moon	

The references to Sunday are to the Christmas and July holidays of our own calendar. The year is generally regarded as comprising fourteen moons equally divided among the two seasons. As calendars were usually in the keeping of men owning beaver bundles and the number seven was employed in enumerating parts of their rituals, this division of the year into moons may be a matter of convention rather than observation. They claim to have reckoned twenty-six days to a moon. Some, however, assert that thirty days were counted; but in this case the year could not have comprised fourteen moons.

From one man we secured a set of 179 sticks used for keeping track of time. Red sticks were used for years. Another, used a bag with two parts; one faced with red, the other with blue. Fourteen pebbles were used to mark the moons; each time the moon became invisible he moved a pebble to the other side. Calendars, or winter counts, were kept by memory rather than by sticks, or paintings. We get the impression, however, that there was less interest in such records than among the Dakota and Kiowa. The following is Elk-horn's winter count, beginning about 1845:—

1. Camped down at Mouth River; Gambles killed; sun dance at Crow Garden (a place).

2. Camped near Fort Benton; moved to Yellowstone country; some Crow escaped by letting themselves down from a rock with a rope; Yellow River, the place of the sun dance; camped at a place where Bad-tail killed a Sioux.

3. Crossed Missouri River to camp; traded at Ft. Benton and spent



most of the winter on the Marias; a fight with the Snake; the ice broke up in the winter (unusual); sun dance near this place; some Piegan killed by enemies.

4. On the Marias; man named Goose killed; in autumn hunted south of Ft. Benton; traded at Ft. Benton.

5. Wintered on the Teton; spring, moved down the Missouri; killed a man named High-ridge; made two sun dances; went to Bear Paw Mountains; went toward Crow country; John Monroe came up to tell Piegan that soldiers were near to issue ammunition and some Piegan did not go because they were skeptical; six Flathead came there for ammunition, some Nez Perce, two North Blackfoot, a few Blood, four North Piegan and some Gros Ventre, but no Sarcee.

6. Camped on Two Medicine River.

7. Missouri River; deep snow winter; sun dance at Yellow River.

8. Slippery winter; some Piegan killed by the Snake.

9. Camped on Cut Bank; went toward Missouri; Some-bull killed by fall from a horse (chief of the tribe); traded at Sun River.

10. Sweet Grass Hills; spent spring on the Marias; in summer went south; Big-snakes (chief) killed; ammunition issued.

11. South of the Missouri; Blood fought among themselves; first time steamboats came to Ft. Teton.

12. Camped at Bad Waters; Sioux after Piegan; this camp north of the Missouri; killed 7 Cree; a fight with the Crow and lost two chiefs, Good-raven and Mad-plume.

13. On the Marias; first fight with Gros Ventre; summer camp on the northeast side of Sweet Grass Hills (Canada).

14. A few cases of smallpox; fight with the Kootenai in which many were killed; during the summer Mountain-chief was attacked by Sioux; a Piegan was killed by a number of Gros Ventre.

15. Captured a double barrel shot gun; sun dance at High Ridge.

16. Flies-low was killed.

17. Many Piegan visited the Southern Gros Ventre (?); ammunition issued; summer camp above Sweet Grass Hills; a fight with the Flathead; also with the Gros Ventre; returned to Two Medicine River.

18. Eagle-chief killed; in summer killed Eagle-horse.

19. Fought with the Crow, Gros Ventre, and Flathead.

20. Straggling-wolf killed near camp; Piegan killed Crow in revenge.

21. Assiniboine (name of a chief) killed.

22. Big-prairies' father killed by his own people.

23. Body-sticking-out killed by his own people.

24. Three-eagles killed by his own people.



25. Many-horses (the chief) died.
26. Many buffalo and many trading posts on the Marias.
27. Man tried to kill his wife, she (Sarcee woman) stabbed him, he killed her; in summer, Home-chief died.
28. Chief Old-woman-child dies; an open winter.
29. Killed seven Assiniboine.
30. Crossed the Missouri; Sitting-bull killed many Piegan.
31. Camped south of the Missouri.
32. Camped on Two Medicine River; White-dry, chief of Assiniboine, killed by Piegan; after this the Piegan were confined to the reservation.
33. Wolf-eagle shot in the arm by Cree.
34. Many Indians died of sore throat; Chief Birch-bark died.
35. Crow-big-foot visited Piegan; Crow came to steal horses.
36. Eagle-child died.
37. Many cattle died.
38. Stallions issued.
39. Mares issued.
40. Two Indians arrested and died in prison; in summer cattle were issued.
41. Wolf-coming-over-hill dies.
42. Chief Walking-through-the-beach dies.
43. Crow-big-foot dies.
44. Yellow-medicine dies.
45. Three-bulls dies.
46. Big-nose dies.
47. Four-bear dies.
48. Gets-paint dies.
50. Black-living-over-tail dies.
51. Old-kicking-woman dies.
52. Lance-chief dies.
53. Fat-buffalo-horse dies.
54. Bites killed in a runaway.
55. Running-rabbit dies.
56. White-calf dies.

This calendar is given as a type and not for the value of its contents, though it doubtless has its merits from that point of view. The narrator was somewhat uncertain as to the order of many counts and made frequent use of a set of improvised counting sticks. We asked him why in later years the winter counts were designated chiefly by the deaths of the most prominent men, to which he replied that since his people were confined to the limits of the reservation nothing else happened worth remembering,

and further, that the count ended with the death of White-calf because there were now no men living of sufficient worth to be honored with such mention. From the human point of view we agreed with him in that the book should be closed, for the old ways have all but gone. If we were interested in the historical aspect of this account the dates could doubtless be checked by certain specific references as Nos. 11, 22, 43, and 56.

For completeness, we add the winter count of Big-brave, covering a span of sixty-one years, but not giving full representation to the later years. Since reservation days, there is a general tendency among the older men to fix their counts in units of residence at a given spot; i. e., "for five winters, I lived on Two Medicine, then for eight winters on Cut Bank, etc.":

1. The fall of the year, Gambler went on the warpath and was killed; Piegan spent the winter on the Marias River.

2. In the fall of the year, Big-lake, chief of The-don't-laugh band died; Piegan wintered on the Marias River which was high and flooded their camps. In the summer, they had a sun dance at Sweet Grass Hills; Bob-tail-horse was shot and killed; a woman was also killed.

3. Leaves-big-lodge-camp-marks clubbed a Flathead but did not kill him; in the summer, Piegan killed some Sioux on the Marias.

4. Black-tattoo became crazy; in the spring a man named Goose was killed by Sioux; in the summer, Goose's father went to war and killed some Crow; some of the Crow escaped by letting themselves down a high cliff with a rope.

5. Still-smoking was killed; the Piegan stole a sorrel race horse from the Flathead. In the summer some Piegan were on the warpath south of the Missouri River. They came to some white settlers and there saw a Sioux Indian whom Last-bull killed with a club. The Sioux had been visiting with the white men.

6. In the fall, the first treaty was made by the Government at the mouth of Yellow River; there were seven different tribes there. That winter, Mountain-chief spent on Belly River. One of his daughter's clothes caught fire and she was burnt to death. During the summer Mountain-chief became ill with the hiccoughs which lasted some time.

7. This winter was called the slippery winter because there was so much ice. In the summer Mountain-chief and his people went to Canada and killed thirty Sioux.

8. The Piegan camped on Marias, and one by the name of Blood killed a Flathead Indian. Lame-bull, a chief, was killed by falling from his horse in the summer.

9. Mountain-chief spent the winter on Milk River and found an extra large buffalo dung which was about three feet across when measured. Chief Big-snake was killed in the summer.

10. Lazy-boy was killed. In the summer, the Blood camped at Yellow Mountains and fought among themselves; Calf-shirt killed some of his own people.

11. A man named Peace-maker was killed. Eagle-child was killed in the summer; a Blood was shot through the face with an arrow by a Sioux but did not die.

12. Piegan fought with the Gros Ventre and one, Many-butterfly, was killed. The Piegan killed five Sioux who had a horn spoon.

13. Chief Coward was killed by Crow Indians. In the summer, the Piegan attacked the camps of the Gros Ventre and killed many of them; also, some Piegan were killed while out hunting.

14. The Assiniboiné attacked Mountain-chief's camps on Big River in Canada, at night, but did not kill anyone. The Piegan fought with the Gros Ventre in the summer and a Piegan, whose name was Half-breed, was killed.

15. Piegan had what was called red smallpox; in the summer they attacked the Assiniboiné's seventy lodges and running them out captured the lodges.

16. At Fort Benton, the Government gave the Piegan clothes, etc.; the white man who issued the things to them went by the name of Black-horse-owner. At this place they also made peace with the Gros Ventre. In the summer Little-dog was killed and the Piegan fought with a great number of enemies, with the Crow, Assiniboiné, and Gros Ventre who helped one another in fighting the Piegan; but the Piegan overpowered or whipped them all.

17. Bear-chief was killed south of the Missouri and the following summer the Piegan killed Weasel-horse, a chief of the Blood.

18. Mountain-chief camped south of the Missouri and the Piegan killed two Flathead near the Piegan camps; in the summer the Piegan killed thirty Assiniboiné who were picking gum off the pine trees.

19. Strangle-wolf was killed by the Gros Ventre while out hunting; Chief Crow was killed by Gros Ventre while he was out hunting. He had six women with him.

20. The Piegan had smallpox and the soldiers attacked seventy camps, killing many old men, women, and children. Running-raven was wounded by a Gros Ventre.

21. The Piegan fought with the Cree on Belly River in Canada and killed one hundred of them. In the summer they had a big battle with the Assiniboiné and Big-Brave and his horse were wounded.

22. A Piegan, Red-old-man, was killed by the Gros Ventre near Bear Paw Mountain while he was trying to steal some horses from them; Black-eagle, a Piegan, killed an Assiniboiné and his wife, in the summer.

23. Bull-chief and High-wolf died; while they were on the warpath in the summer, White-man's horse and his war party were nearly all killed.

24. Calf-chief killed two Flathead Indians near the Piegan camps while they were about to steal some horses. Black-eagle was killed by the Northern Blackfoot in the summer.

25. The Agent issued hogs' heads to the Piegan as rations; in the summer Big-nose took four Assiniboine prisoners.

26. There were plenty of buffalo and many Assiniboine came to visit the Piegan. In the summer the agent, known as Wood, issued clothing, etc., and the Piegan made peace with the Crow at Sweet Grass Hill.

27. A Piegan killed his wife who was a Sarcee woman; in the summer, Chief Calf-chief died.

28. Open winter, there was no snow all winter; Big-buffalo-rock died during the summer.

29. Weasel-moccasin was killed by the Assiniboine; had a sun dance; cattle tongues were first used for sun dance; Agency was moved down where it now is.

30. Piegan moved and camped south of Missouri; in the summer the soldiers brought the Piegan back to the Reservation.

31. The Piegan wintered south of the Missouri; Black-check was killed by the Flathead. In the summer, the Piegan moved back to the reservation and an Indian was accidentally shot by the Agency doctor during the sun dance.

38. White-dog, an Assiniboine, was killed by the Piegan; Big-brave and many others lived on Birch Creek seven winters and summers.

39. In the summer Big-brave moved to Blacktail Creek and wintered there.

40. Mares were issued to the people and Little-dog received two buckskin mares.

42. Big-brave moved to White Tail Creek and lived there two winters and summers.

61. Big-brave moved to Blacktail and has been living there ever since, nineteen winters and summers he has lived there.

Though we failed to find among the Blackfoot such elaborate chronicles as among the Dakota and Kiowa, what did come to hand were obviously of the same type and suggest common origins. Further, we get the impression that in details our material is more like the counts of the Kiowa than the Dakota.

## OATHS.

The sun is called upon in the most solemn oaths. Thus, when women get into a dispute one may take the other by the chin and say "Now, we will talk to the sun. If what I say is not true, may I never live to put my foot into another snow," etc. A man may appeal to the earth but more likely it is the sun, as, "The sun hears me," etc. Men usually make oaths over pipes. Thus, when a man tells an improbable story he may be asked if he will smoke upon its truth. This refers to the mode of making formal oaths. Often when laboring with a man to prevent him from taking the life of another, the head-men and relatives induce him to take an oath that he will not do the deed. A medicineman fills a pipe, paints the stem red and addresses the sun as to the purpose of the ceremony about to be performed; the one to take the oath then smokes the pipe which is considered most binding. The same method is often used in pledging a man to mend his evil ways.

There is another method — something like an ordeal. The point of a knife is held in the ashes at the fire and extended with the charge, "If you say what is true, touch the point of this knife with your finger." The belief is that one will certainly be killed by a knife or other sharp instrument, if swearing falsely.

## ETIQUETTE.

To discuss this subject in detail would be a matter of considerable interest and doubtless of definite comparative value; but it is our intention to note only such points as came readily to notice. Naturally, many points mentioned under previous heads may be considered as bearing upon this topic. On approaching the tipi of a stranger, it is proper for a man to pause some distance away and call out to know if the head of the family is at home. If he is out and there is no adult male to act instead, the visitor is upon such information not expected to enter but may, of course, carry on a conversation with the women on the outside. When one is acquainted, or where the man is known to be within, he enters without ceremony and takes a place to his right of the door. Should the entire side be unoccupied he moves up to a place opposite the host; should it be occupied he takes the first vacant place. However, a man's status and age may make it incumbent upon those seated to make a place appropriate to his rank.<sup>1</sup> The fire is the divid-

<sup>1</sup> The ownership of certain medicines may determine the seat. Thus, as guests, the medicine pipe men are given a seat opposite the host and must give way to no one. Should they go out for an interval, no one should occupy the seat. As the penalty will be disease, we have here what may be considered a taboo.

ing point of the house: hence, to pass between a guest and the fire is very impolite. Should a man of some importance be smoking, one must not pass between him and the fire, he may, however, take the pipe in his hands and pass between it and the smoker. As soon as a male guest enters, the host begins to cut tobacco and fill a pipe, which when lighted is passed to the guest, back to the host etc., until it has burned out. Women as guests usually take places to the left by the wife.

There are a great many observances that partake of taboo rather than etiquette. These will be discussed elsewhere, but it is proper to respect all the restrictions of your host's medicine. The well-informed are expected to know what bundles the host owns and, of course, the observances thereto. Thus, the bear must not be named in a tipi when there are certain bundles, guests seeing these bundles hung up there must act accordingly and designate the bear, if at all, by some descriptive terms. Again many men have individual restrictions of the same sort, all of which are to be respected.

It is a breach to ask a leading question as to one's personal medicine or experiences. One may wear an object until it has attracted general attention and though many are certain that it is a medicine object of interest, they will not ask about it. It may, however, be hinted at and a desire for information implied, but the approach must end there. On the other hand, the owner may speak freely if he so choose. We found no reason to believe that a man felt any great reluctance to speak of such things at his own initiative or that he felt under special obligation not to do so: it is the blunt asking for information that is offensive.

Food should be set before a guest. A visitor, if from a distance, should receive presents from the host and his relatives. Even now, a Blackfoot visiting one of the other divisions of his people, returns with horses and other property. This is, however, a kind of exchange, since his relatives are expected to do likewise when visited by those befriending him.

Jesting at the expense of a guest, provided he is not a distinguished man, is regarded as proper. Oftimes very rude jokes are thus played upon strangers. A show of timidity or resentment is sure to stimulate such acts. The usual procedure is for a number of men to gather, some of whom begin to make indecent remarks concerning the guest while the host and a few others pretend to speak against such proposals. Further indignities may be offered but the host prevents the affair from going too far. We mention this extreme of jesting to emphasize the large place it plays in Blackfoot social life. Notwithstanding all this, the victims whatever their rank, are extremely sensitive to such jests.

## AMUSEMENTS AND GAMES.

In former times, there was a good deal of merriment in the Blackfoot camps. We have just characterized some of the jokes often perpetrated and may mention others strictly for amusement. One Piegan band was noted for its pranks. One of their favorites was to annoy visitors by a mock family row. The host would begin a quarrel with his wife and then to fight. The neighbors would rush in and with mock indignation take the woman's part. The result was a general *mêlée* in which they took care to fall upon the guest and wallow him about as much as possible without serious injury.

As a rule, jokes were between band and band. Thus it is related that one time a band drove off the horses of another and herded them in the brush near by. Then they innocently offered to join the war party for pursuit. When all was ready they suggested that they look in the brush as the horses might have been overlooked. Again, a band dressed one of their men in white man's clothes and painted his face black. Then while his confederates were at the camp of the victim band he came up and in plain view caught two horses, going off slowly. The confederates were careful to call attention to it. Some young men pursued but when they were near the man took aim at them. So they hesitated. Finally, the thief disappeared over a hill. Then he whipped up, returned by another route and left the horses in their places again to the confusion of the pursuing party on their return.

Such pranks afforded amusement to all and served to brighten the life of the camps.<sup>1</sup> While there were always a number of persons adept at chaffing and pranks there seems to have been no clown or buffoon, not even in ceremonies. There were, and are now, certain dances that may be termed social in which there are features expressly for amusement, but as these also contain ceremonial features they may be passed by at this writing. Games, on the other hand, seem to have no ceremonial associations and may, therefore, be considered under this head. We shall, however, make a distinction between amusement and gambling. The first are indulged in by children and youths, rarely by adults.

Children had a great many games similar to those of white children, from whom they may have been learned. Among these are tag, hide-and-seek, jumping the rope, stilt-walking, slings, tops, dolls, hobby-horses, coasting, ball games, shooting contests, racing, and follow-the-leader.

The hobby-horse seems to have been peculiar to girls. A stick was

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<sup>1</sup> For a sketch of the social amusements in Blackfoot camps, see Grinnell, 185.



selected with a natural bend between two parallel ends. A miniature saddle was sometimes placed in the crook and other trappings added. Girls coasted on pieces of rawhide, squatting at the rear and holding up the front with the hands. In summer, this contrivance was used in sliding down steep hills and cut banks. Boys usually coasted by sitting on a kind of toboggan made of buffalo ribs lashed to cross sticks, though they were not averse to using the more comfortable rawhide sheet.<sup>1</sup> Small boys often played at owning, stealing and tending horses, using rude images of mud or selected



Fig. 8a (50-6153c), b(50-6153e), c (6153 f). Wooden Tops. Length of a, 7 cm.

stones of appropriate form. When buffalo were represented, their foot-bones were usually used. The buzzer of bone and the bull roarer were known as children's toys, but the winged bones of the Teton and the snow snake were not recognized by our informants. A toy called "whizzing bone," has not been identified by us, but was described as a contrivance for throwing. Some of our informants had seen the cup-and-ball, but rarely among their own people.

Top was a favorite game for boys. The wooden top (Fig. 8) is usually made of birch in the round and varies in length from 11 to 16 cm., in diameter from 8 to 12 cm. The bark is removed entire or in sections and the heads marked with nails or paint, partly for ornamentation and partly for identification. The wood must be well seasoned so as not to be heavy. The whips have four buckskin lashes about 35 cm. in length and handles about 75 cm. long. This game is played in soft snow, the object being to determine who can drive his top over the greatest distance without interrupting the spinning. The usual stakes are buckskin whip strings and tops.

Another top game is played upon smooth ice. The tops are water-worn



Fig. 9 (50-6155g). A Stone Top. Length, 8 cm.

<sup>1</sup> Maximilian says of the Mandan that children glided down heaps of snow "on a board, or a piece of the backbone of a buffalo, with some of the ribs attached to it," 445.



egg-shaped pebbles (Fig. 9) about 15 cm. in transverse diameter. The whips are similar to the preceding except that bark strings are used as shown in Fig. 10. This is a matter of economy since it is the belief that the rocks and the ice wear out buckskin strings very quickly and while the bark strings are also short lived they are easily replaced. In the game, the rocks are set spinning by whipping and when at high speed are driven together, the one that stops spinning first loses. In this game, the players are in pairs.

Sometimes these rock tops are used on hard snow. A shallow trench is dug which the tops must cross while spinning. A skillful player will whip his top in such a way that it will jump the trench. However, should it fail it may be whipped out or thrown out by the hand; if it ceases to spin, the player loses. The name for top games is approximately, "knocking it."

Another boy's game is with balls of mud stuck on the ends of willow rods about two meters long. A swing of the rod will drive off such a ball with great force. If such play becomes a contest, the aim is to see who can throw the greatest distance.

There are a number of arrow games. The collections contain two sets. One bow (Fig. 11b) has a peculiar decoration on the back, produced by cutting away portions of the bark. The other bow (Fig. 11a) is of similar form but plain. The arrows are in sets of six, of plain feathered shafts, about 75 cm. long and slightly sharpened. One arrow with the carved bow has a peculiar head (Fig. 11b). There are also two grass targets as in Fig. 11a.

One simple game is opened by a player shooting an arrow into a bank of earth which in turn becomes the target for all. The one placing an arrow nearest the target arrow wins all the arrows shot in the round. In a more complicated game one arrow is set up beside a bank and used as a target as in the preceding. The boy making the best shot gathers up all the arrows at the target and shoots them at the grass target (Fig. 11). Each arrow striking this target is his, otherwise they revert to their owners. The grass target must be held in the hand grasping the belly of the bow and the arrow. By a swing of the arms it is tossed forward and upward and must be hit while in the air to win.<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 10 (50-6154a).  
Top Whip with Lashes  
of Bark. Length, 71 cm.

<sup>1</sup> Culin, Fig. 505, 391.

Another game spoken of as the sliding arrows was in favor. No bow was used, the so-called arrows being but straight slender sticks about 80 cm. long, neither sharpened nor feathered. The set in the collection contains 39 sticks, 28 of which are plain, 4 burned black at one end and 7 decorated with a spiral burned band. We have no information as to the significance of these divisions. In the game the players take an equal number of sticks. They are thrown by hand, poising them on a small heap

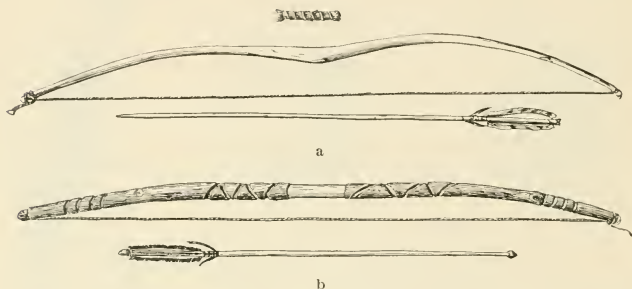


Fig. 11 a (50-6148 g. a), b (50-6147a, c). Gaming Bows and Arrows. Length of Bow, 97 cm.

of earth. The player throwing the greatest distance, takes all the sticks thrown. As in other games, the play continues until one has all the sticks.

The casting of wooden darts, or arrows, is another boys' game of the same general type. The set of darts in the collection contains twelve willow sticks about a meter long and 1.8 cm. in diameter. Each stick is sharpened at one end and split into quarters at the other, Fig. 12. These darts are usually decorated and to some are attached tufts of horse hair.



Fig. 12 (50-6146). A Wooden Dart. Length, 90 cm.

In the game the darts are thrown from the hand. First one is cast into a clump of bushes and the players in turn cast at it as a target. The last throw wins the darts. The use of the hair tufts was explained as an aid to the count; thus, if several darts fell about equally near the target dart, the one whose hair tuft touched it was declared the winner.

We secured vague accounts of another game in which arrows were shot at a bundle of arrows, the best shot taking the bundle.

The wheel game is played with a netted hoop, strictly for amusement, by young people. The hoop in the collection is shown in Fig. 13.<sup>1</sup> The center mesh is called the navel and the open parts of the loops around the hoop, the teeth. The darts are simple pointed sticks about 80 cm. long

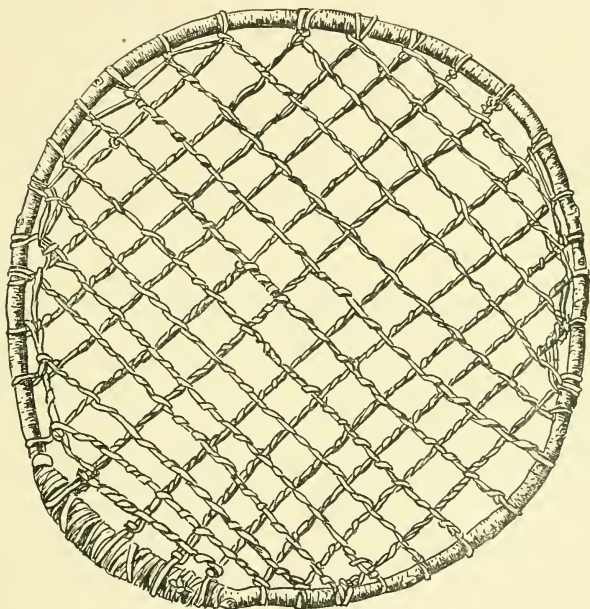


Fig. 13 (50-6165). The Wheel Game. Diameter, 41 cm.

without forks at the end as observed among some other tribes. Counts are made when the darts pierce the navel or one of the teeth, according to any value agreed upon by the players. Two persons are necessary to the game, but there is no maximum limit to the number of players. The opposing sides take up positions at fifty yards or more. A player rolls the wheel toward the opposite side, its players casting darts at it as it passes. Should a count be made the wheel is thrown back high in the air, the opposing side attempting to catch it on their darts. Should they in turn make a count, the wheel is thrown back to the other side, etc. For every failure to count, the wheel is returned by rolling.

<sup>1</sup> An unusual form of this wheel is shown by Culin, 447.

A kind of shinny, called "batting ours," was played by men, women and youths. Bats of rough sticks with slightly curved ends were used (Fig. 14). The balls are spherical, about the size of a base ball, composed of skin covers stuffed with hair. The game is rough and frequently results in serious injuries. The players are arrayed in two sides. Two lines, or goals, are placed about 300 yards apart. The players group about the midway point and the game is opened by tossing the ball into the air. Each side strives to bat the ball over its own goal.

Another ball game, known as the Cree Women, is played by adults and youths. A ball is used similar to the preceding, but is tossed from hand to hand. The players are in pairs. The game is opened by tossing the ball into the air whence each player strives to recover it. The one who secures it, then faces his partner and the ball is tossed back and forth. The other



Fig. 14 (50-6149). A Shinny Stick. Length, 89 cm.

players may use every means to disconcert them except actual physical interference. When the ball is dropped all rush for it and the first to secure it, plays with his partner as before.

Wrestling was common among boys and young men. Formal bouts were usually between two sides. The players sat facing in rows. One side put forward a man with a challenge to the other. They put forward an opponent. The victor was then the next challenger until thrown.

A rough game, known as kicking each other, was popular among young men and boys; the usual way was to form two opposing lines and kick each other to see which would give way. Another game, known as bear play, was popular when swimming; boys would unite, seize a boy and toss him into the deepest water, then scamper away. The victim pursued until a boy was caught when, at once, the others joined in tossing him into the water.

A children's game, known as skunk, is a kind of round in which all stand in line each with hands on the shoulders of his neighbor. The leader carries a stick of wood, burning at the end, from which he beats sparks with another stick. The row of children sing and dance without breaking the line. The leader endeavors to come near the rear of the line so that the sparks will fly upon the players, they in turn seek to avoid him without breaking away. While this was a rough game, it was popular.

Boys often amused themselves by placing embers from the fire on a stone and striking them with another stone. When skillfully done, this gives off a report like a gun.

## GAMBLING.

Playing for stakes was always a favorite and the games to be described here were rarely played except in gambling. Gambling is often spoken of as fighting, or war, and in turn war is spoken of as gambling. This is reflected in a myth where the players' scalps were at stake.<sup>1</sup>

*The Hand-Game.* Piaks kaiösin, approximately fancy gambling, was in a way team work, sometimes as many as twenty-five men on a side, band playing against band or even camp against camp. The outfit consists of 4 hiding sticks, or two pairs, 12 counters and a number of drumsticks for beating time on lodge poles set up in front of the players. The pair of hiding sticks are designated as the short and the long, though they are really of equal length, the one called long being designated by a string wrapped about its middle. They are about the thickness of an ordinary lead pencil and about 7 cm. in length. The materials are wood or bone. The counters are about 38 cm. long, of plain wood sharpened at one end for sticking up in front of the players. The drumsticks are short clubs of no definite form. Each side takes a pair of hiding sticks and selects a man to do the hiding and one to do the guessing, according to their known skill. Each hiding man, or leader, faces the guesser of the opposing side and the play begins. The leaders put their hands behind them and then show their hands when the guess is made. The side guessing correctly takes one counter and also their opponents' pair of hiding sticks. This opens the game. There are now two leaders for the playing side. They confront the guessers of their opponents. The player's side now sings and drums upon the tipi poles, provided for that purpose, apparently to divert the attention of the guessers. For every failure of a guesser, the playing side takes a counting stick. Should one of the leaders be guessed correctly, he gives his hiding stick to his companion who plays with the four. If the guess is now wrong, he takes one counter and restores a pair to his companion to play as before. However, should the guess be correct, the playing side loses the hiding sticks to their opponents. Thus the play continues until one side has the 12 counting sticks, or wins.<sup>2</sup>

The songs have a definite rhythmic air but consist of nonsense syllables. However, jibes and taunts are usually improvised to disconcert the guessers. The game is very boisterous and, in a way social, but is never played except for stakes of value, as horses, robes, guns, etc.

Formerly, this game was often played by members of the All-Comrades

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> For other brief accounts for the Blackfoot see Grinnell, 184; Maclean, (b), 56.

Societies, as the Braves against the Dogs, etc. In such cases the songs were from their own rituals. The man handling the sticks was sometimes very skilful in deceiving the guessers. To disconcert him, the opposing side often counted coup on him. One would recount how he took a scalp, leap upon the shoulder of the player, grasp his hair, flash a knife, etc., he all the while handling the sticks. They might pretend to capture his blanket or repeat any other deeds they had done in war. The idea was that if the deed counts were true, the re-counting of them would give power to overcome the skill of the player. This made the game noisy and rough, but quite exciting. The players were always skilful jugglers and regarded as medicinemen. The amount of property changing hands in such gambling was truly astonishing, whole bands and societies sometimes being reduced to absolute poverty and nakedness. Women may play the game but with three counting sticks instead of twelve.

*The Wheel Gambling.* For this game, a small wheel about 7 cm. in diameter is used. The form is precisely like that of the Gros Ventre shown in Fig. 22, p. 188, Vol. I, of this series. There are two sets in the Blackfoot collection one of which has six spokes, the other seven. The spokes are distinguished by beads of different colors or combinations. For the game a wheel and two arrows are required, there being but two players. The arrows in the collection have metal points and are feathered. They are about 85 cm. long. In playing the wheel is rolled by one of the players toward an obstruction, usually a board, about 6 m. distant. The two follow it closely and as it falls after striking the obstruction, try to thrust their arrows under it. This must be done so that the wheel will fall upon them, not cause its fall. The count is according to the position of the spokes upon the arrows. The winner rolls the wheel, the advantage being always with the one who does this. The counts are usually in multiples of five, values being assigned to the various spokes by mutual agreement at the opening of the game.<sup>1</sup> Small pebbles are used as counters, or chips. The betting is by pledging a blanket for so many pebbles, a knife for so many, etc.

*The Four-stick Game.* To the Blackfoot this is known as "travois gambling," and is played by women. A set in the collection was said to be of buffalo bone (Fig. 15). The sticks were named six, two, and snakes; though sometimes designated as twos and snakes, a pair of each. The detail of the markings varied but followed the same general scheme in so far that the snakes were always marked with the wave-like design. They were cast upon the ground or a blanket. Since the opposite sides of the

<sup>1</sup> See Grinnell 183; Maclean (b), 55; Maclean, (d), pp. 21276-7; Culin, 448.



sticks are blank there are eight faces. The usual count is as follows: zero two blanks, one snake and *a* or *b*; 2, two blanks and two snakes; 4, four blanks; or as they appear in the figure; 6, three blanks and six (*b*), or one blank, two snakes and two (*a*); one blank, six (*b*) and two snakes counts nothing but the player may pick up the stick called six and throw it upon the others to turn them, counting according to the result. Other

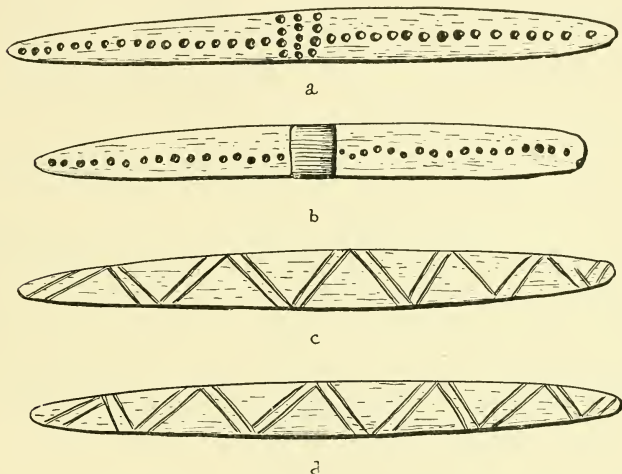


Fig. 15 (50-5408). The Four-stick Game. Length of *a*, 18 cm.

combinations give no score. The player continues to throw so long as the above combinations result; failing, the turn passes to the next. As a rule, there are but two in the game.<sup>1</sup> The number of points in a game and the wagers are a matter of agreement between the players.<sup>2</sup>

Certain games well known to neighboring tribes were not recognized by our informants as having been played by the Blackfoot. Among these were the plum stone, or button dice, the moccasin game, the hoop game, the 102 stick game, the cup-and-ball, the snow snake, ice-gliders, and winged bones. Most of them had been seen, but in the hands of aliens. Odd-and-even seems to have been known to the Northern Blackfoot, but was not

<sup>1</sup> Culin, 56-57.

<sup>2</sup> The section on games is entirely based upon information gathered by D. C. Duvall, chiefly among the Piegan, supplemented by data from the other divisions.

in favor.<sup>1</sup> We have found no traces of ceremonial associations with these games. While mention of the wheel games is made in several myths, this seems purely circumstantial, except that the Twin-brothers are credited with originating the netted wheel.<sup>2</sup>

The small spoked wheel of the Blackfoot is practically identical with that of the Gros Ventre. According to Culin, this beaded type has been observed among the Crow, Nez Perce, Thompson and Shushwap tribes, suggesting its origin, if not with the Blackfoot, at least, with some of their neighbors. The particular form of button used in the Blackfoot hand-game seems to belong to the west of the Rocky Mountains, to the coast and southward in the plateaus. The beating upon a pole is found among the Nez Perce, Kootenai and perhaps elsewhere. While the Gros Ventre had the Blackfoot names "long and short," their buttons and method of play were more like those of the Arapaho. The stick dice (travois game) when rigidly compared as to form and marking, bear close parallels among the Gros Ventre, Hidatsa, and Chippeywan with less correspondence west of the Rockies. On the other hand, the Blackfoot indifference to seed and button dice tends to class them with western tribes. Neither the Blackfoot nor the Gros Ventre seem to have used the large hoop and double darts of the Dakota, Omaha, and Arapaho. Thus, in a general way, the Blackfoot fall into an ill-defined group comprising tribes on the head-waters of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers. They seem on the whole, to incline more toward the Plateau and Shoshone area than to the Siouan or Algonkin. Of greater interest, perhaps, is our failure to find any game associated with the stalking of buffalo or any other ceremony. So far as we can see, all games are to the Blackfoot either amusement or gambling and a résumé of our account will show that many of the former also reflect the gambling conception.

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<sup>1</sup> Maximilian, 254.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I of this series, 24, 42, 60, 64, 132.



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## INTRODUCTION.

The ceremonials described in this paper are those to which we have given the name medicine bundles. By the Blackfoot, they are designated as *saam*, which we have translated as medicine, a word now used in anthropological literature to express a similar concept. These medicine bundles are associated with the rituals to which they are, after all, entirely secondary. As every bundle and its ritual is conceived of as owned by a single person, we have limited this paper to the study of rituals of individual ownership. These do not constitute the entire ceremonial culture of the Blackfoot for they maintain societies and associations similar in number and character to those found among their neighbors. In most of these, however, the fundamental conceptions of the bundle scheme prevail, from which it follows that a proper understanding of this subject will suffice for the comprehension of the chief characteristics in this aspect of Blackfoot culture. Because of this and the somewhat unique conceptions involved, we have felt justified in assigning a distinct paper to bundles and their rituals, reserving the data on collective ceremonies for a future publication.

The data were gathered at various times since 1903, partly by the writer and partly by Mr. D. C. Duvall, the latter checking over with different informants all the earlier notes. Notwithstanding the rather extended series of investigation, we cannot claim completeness in any case, but have, we believe, illustrated the chief characteristics of each important type of bundle. It was our original plan to collect all the different rituals in the various groups but this was interrupted by Mr. Duvall's untimely death whence it seems best to publish our results as they stand. Had we been able to present the fifty or more rituals for the tipi bundles and the some twenty-odd for the pipes as contemplated, a satisfactory insight into the genesis of these rituals would doubtless have resulted. In lieu of this completeness of data, we have accepted statements from informants as to similarities and relationships between rituals when confirmed by objective or analytic evidence. In the following paper we have given, according to our judgment, all the more important concrete data collected though the Duvall manuscripts reporting in full the statements of various informants and his own observations contain much further detail. The reader wishing to get a general idea of the Blackfoot bundle scheme may find sufficient information in the section on general ceremonial features and certain discussions under personal medicines.

It was our intention to print texts for many of the songs and a few important parts of rituals, but since Prof. C. C. Uhlenbeck has ready for the press a collection of texts and Dr. Truman Michelson has taken up the linguistic investigation for the Bureau of American Ethnology and this not being in any sense a linguistic study, we have omitted these fragmentary texts. Mr. Duvall, it should be remembered, was a native Blackfoot, and by his training and experience, interested in practical linguistics. The subjects discussed in this paper occupied his time more or less continuously for eight years and his manuscript notes pertaining thereto were regarded by him as his most important contribution.

It remains to acknowledge the coöperation of Dr. Robert H. Lowie in checking up some parts of the data among the Northern Blackfoot and the editorial assistance of Miss Bella Weitzner.

February, 1912.

## I. MEDICINE EXPERIENCES.

As an introduction to this phase of Blackfoot culture we present a number of personal narratives recounting medicine experiences. That these seven men actually experienced these happenings in their subjective aspects is, of course, impossible of proof; but all of them seemed to lead lives of integrity and sincerity and to bear reputations of honesty except the third, who was held in some distrust but recognized as a medicineman of more than ordinary powers. We, ourselves, detected in his narratives certain evidences of plagiarism, but the value of the data does not depend upon the actuality of the events narrated. We are certain that these narratives are typical accounts of the kinds of experiences a Blackfoot of some importance is assumed to have passed through. Even the most commonplace Indian is accustomed to explain any special aptitude he is credited with by similar narratives, though often of the crudest sort. We are not sure that such of these narratives as do recount real experiences (dreams or visions) are complete, for the discussion of this aspect of a Blackfoot's inner life is a delicate matter admitting of no cross-questioning. As stated elsewhere, it is a social breach to ask a direct question about any such experiences. In the case of several narratives, the man felt called upon to pray to the power concerned for permission to speak frankly of the relation between himself and it, explaining that he was about to do this for my enlightenment, etc. No doubt some of this was for effect, a feature present in most acts of a medicineman, but on the other hand, this was usually so mumbled that its import alone could be detected. If we were put to it for an opinion we would say that we believed narrators A and D absolutely sincere, while the others may have incorporated some experiences of other men legitimately transferred to them, which, as we shall see later, gave them the right to feel that they had the same experience. The following narratives are offered, therefore, as types of assumed personal experiences.

We have used the term medicineman to signify a man skilled in the handling of bundles and conducting their ceremonies. There is nothing to distinguish him from other men, for most men own some kind of a bundle however small, and thus stand in gradual gradation. We accepted the Blackfoot designation: i. e., those called medicinemen by them are so termed by us; but they themselves recognize the vagueness of the conception and the gradation. A doctor, on the other hand, is one who treats disease by virtue of powers obtained through dreams or visions and in no

other manner. Thus, while doctors may be great and small, they are nevertheless doctors by virtue of this experience. A medicineman may have owned all rituals and stand preëminent in ceremonial skill and yet not be a doctor. By material wealth one may take high rank as a medicineman, as we shall see later; but all this will not suffice to make him a doctor. By transfer, a kind of purchase, a medicineman may acquire the visions and supernormal experiences of others; but a doctor must himself have the experiences and further, such experiences as confer on him power to treat the sick. Medicinemen may have experiences of their own in which powers are conferred, but unless these give them definite control over disease they are not doctors. Obviously, a medicineman may also be a doctor and the reverse. This paper, however, is concerned almost exclusively with the medicineman, his bundle and its ritual.

#### MEDICINEMAN A.

##### (a)

When I was a young man I went up on Heart Butte and fasted and prayed for seven days. I was dressed in very old clothes and continually called upon the sun to have pity on me. At last, the sun appeared before me as a very old man, gave me a drum and one song. He explained to me that this drum and the song were to be used in making clear weather. I kept this drum many years. On the fourth of July, 1902, while our people were in camp preparing for the sun dance, there came a great rain which threatened to flood the whole camp. I beat my drum and sang my song which kept the water away from my tipi; but the water went into all the other tipis. Then I made up my mind to cause the water to drown out the tipi of my rival. So I kept my mind on that one thing, drummed and sang the song, until at last the water rose on my rival and forced him to move.

In the following year, I received another drum from the sun. One night in my sleep the sun appeared to me as an old white-haired man, very poor, and carrying a drum on his shoulder. This man taught me a new song and the use of this drum. Its power is very great. When I am drumming and singing a song the people gather around, but they can only get within a certain distance as the power of the drum holds them back. It has the same power over all living things, even the grass (50-5384).

##### (b)

One time, I was sleeping out in the brush and was awakened by a whistling noise. I looked up and around, but saw nothing. I slept again



only to be awakened by the same noise, and looking around saw nothing. Then I pretended to go to sleep, partly closed my eyes, and waited. Again I heard the sound and looking around saw a worm on a reed crawling in and out of four holes. Now, I knew this to be the cause of the sound, so I broke off the reed, took it home and used it as a whistle.

One night shortly after this, I dreamed that an old man and an old woman came into my tipi. The man had an iron whistle (section of a gun barrel) and the woman a wooden one. Each of them offered me their whistles, but I took the iron one. Then the old man said to me, "Do you know me?" "No," I replied. "I live in the sky," he said, "and as long as you live you will be protected by me. In a fight do not fear guns. Now, look into the fire." The moment I looked at the fire, there was a great puff scattering the fire all about. In the flash I saw many guns. Then the old man took some feathers from his head and gave them to me. He wore a robe and some feathers were tied on his whistle. This old man was the morningstar, and the weasel skin and the button you see upon my whistle are to represent him (50-5385).

When I took the iron whistle the old woman, who was the moon, became angry and threw her wooden whistle into the fire where it turned into a snake and ran away; but some time after this the old woman came back to me in a dream and gave me the wooden whistle. She also said that this whistle had the power to prevent child-bearing and I have used it for that purpose ever since.

(c)

The shell necklace of which I speak was given to me in a dream at the time of the sun dance. An old man with white hair and very old clothes came to me in a dream and said, "This medicine lodge is ours, the weather is ours, and when you wish the weather to be good you must go to the water and dive. Now, I give you this power and you must give me what I ask for." Since this time I have kept the shell and have exercised my power over the weather, and at the time of the sun dance I keep the rain away. Not long ago the old man appeared to me in a dream and asked me to give him some old clothes. He hinted that he had an intention not to help me make clear weather any more. So the next day I took some old clothes and put them upon the top of a small hill. After that the sun helped me to make clear weather as before.

(d)

Once I dreamed that I saw an old woman facing the sun. Her hair was white with age. She had her back towards me and at her side stood an old man wearing a headdress like mine. I had in my hand a fan of feathers and

the old woman requested me to give the fan to her. This I promised to do. Then the old woman said, "Look at me, my son, see how fine I look." Then I looked at her and could see her face through her head. Her face was painted with a black circle and a dot on the nose. Then the old man sang four songs. You will remember that in the sun dance I painted the faces of women with black circles and dots. This is why I did it.

(e)

One time I had a dream in which a medicine woman came by and gave me some paint. She said if I would use this paint I would never get the smallpox. Some time after this the smallpox broke out among our people. My wife was very ill but in order to get away from the smallpox, I put her on a travois and started out. Finally, the travois broke down and we stopped to camp. While we were at this place, as I lay on the ground one day looking towards Sweet Grass Hills, I saw a star coming toward me. As it came along it left a path, one side of which was yellow, and the other blue. It passed directly over my head and then disappeared. As it went along it said, "I am the morningstar, I shall give you my power." Now, this is why I wear the brass button on my robe, it represents the morningstar (50-4507).

(f)

One time in a dream the sun came to me and said, "Look at the old woman's face (moon)." I looked around and saw that she had turned her back, but I saw through her head. I could see the paint on her face. There was a black spot on her nose, and a ring over her forehead, cheeks, and chin. Then the sun said, "Look at my face. This is the way you are to paint your face. You must always wear a cap made of running fisher skin with one feather. This cap is to be like the one I now wear. If you do this you shall have power to turn away rain." (Fig. 6.)

Now when you see me in the sun dance I shall wear that cap, and paint my face as directed. I shall also paint the faces of the women, who come to me, like that of the old woman, the moon.

The robe which you saw me wear the other day came from the thunder bird. The thunder bird came to me in a dream and said, "Whatever you wish as to the weather when wearing this robe, no matter how bad the weather may be, it will clear up. If the weather should be clear and you desire it to rain take some water into your mouth and blow four times on the sun plate [large brass button] on the center of the robe. Then it will rain."

## MEDICINEMAN B.

(a)

One night I slept in the open out on the prairie. I heard some rattles beating. There was a strong west wind blowing at the time which carried the sound to me. I got up, followed the sound and came at last to the top of a hill. As I looked down beyond I saw many tipis. I approached the camp and coming near one of the tipis found that I could see through it as if it were transparent. Inside, was a man using rattles. This was the noise that I had heard. His body and hair were painted all over with red. This man invited me to enter and after a while said, "I shall give you my hair, all the beaver medicine, and all the songs." After this I had the beaver medicine and songs.

(b)

Another time, when sleeping I saw a man with very long hair. His hair was painted red. There were some buffalo rocks tied to his hair. This is what made his hair grow so long. In this way I got power to make the hair grow long, and you see that my hair is very long.

(c)

One time, many years ago, I had been sick for so long a time that I expected to die. So I had a sweat house made ready and the people all prayed for me. Then I went up on a hill and prayed to everything I could see for help. After a time I came down and returned to my tipi. I slept. In my sleep help came to me. I dreamed that an old man with gray hair and beard came to me. The old man said, "Give me the letter." [Something upon which there was writing.] "I have no letter," I replied. "Yes, you have a letter," said he, "and I want it." But I had no letter. "Yes, you have a letter," said the old man, and reaching down he pulled a letter from my abdomen. "This is what made you sick," said he, "now you will get well." I saw this letter for a moment; it resembled a piece of glass with writing on one side. After this I recovered.

## MEDICINEMAN C.

(a)

One time seven years ago, I went up to the top of Heart Butte. It was in the afternoon. I made a shelter wall of rock, in which I slept and fasted. During the first night and the second night I dreamed nothing. On the

third morning I had a little dream, but it was of no importance. On the fourth morning I suddenly awakened and saw many rats (?) eating my blanket. About the middle of the forenoon, there appeared to me an old couple (man and wife) with a son. The man and woman were so old that they had to hold up their eyelids when they wanted to see. The old man addressed me, "My son, do you know me?" "No," I replied. "Well," said he, "my name is Always Visible." This I knew to be the sun man. Then the old woman addressed me, "Do you know me?" "No," I replied. Again she said, "Do you know me?" "No," I said again. "Well," she said, "my name is Moon Woman." Then the son addressed me, "Do you know me?" "No," I replied. "Well," said he, "my name is morningstar." The old man then addressed me, "I will give you my body. You will live as long as I. I am the one who operates the clouds. There is no rainstorm that I cannot stop." Then the old woman addressed me, "My son, all the clouds in the sky are the paint for my face. Now, if I paint my face, it rains; if I do not paint my face, it does not rain. This power I give you." Then the son gave me feathers, which I now wear on this hat. (The plume of an eagle and the tail feathers of a magpie.) It was in this way that I was given power over the rain as you saw at the sun dance.

(b)

One time about five years ago, while sleeping in my house I dreamed of the thunder bird. It was in the autumn about the time the thunder bird leaves. I saw a heavy cloud and as the thunder bird passed by, it said to me, "My son, I am going away."

Now, the following spring, long before the usual time for the return of the thunder bird I saw him again in a dream. Again the thunder bird addressed me, "My son, you must give all the Indians a feather from the tail of a magpie, for all those who do not receive one will be struck by lightning."

At the usual time for the first thunder in the spring, it rained and stormed for three days and on the fourth day, the lightning killed an old woman. Shortly after this, the thunder bird addressed me, "My son, I will give you my tipi, my paint, and my smudge." (The paint referred to is dark blue.) I now have all these things and for that reason the thunder bird neither injures me nor my friends. Recently, the thunder bird informed me that he does not intend to take away any of our people this year.

(c)

Once when I was on the Teton River I came to a large cottonwood tree on the top of which some bald eagles had their nest. They had killed a very

large rabbit and carried it up to the nest. I said to myself, "These birds seem to have some power. I will sleep here." So I made a shelter of brush to sleep in. In my sleep I heard the two eagles disputing with each other as to their respective powers. The male turned himself into a person, took up some yellow paint, rubbed it on his arm, then took a knife and cut the veins. Then the female bird turned herself into a woman and called to me, "Now watch me, I shall cure this man." She took some white paint, spat upon it, and rubbed it upon her forehead. At once the man was cured. Then she addressed me again, "Now my son, when you doctor a person whose veins have been cut, you should do as you saw me do." Since that time I have had the power to stop bleeding.

(d)

You may remember that near the old agency is a large rock upon the side of a hill. Once I went there to sleep and this rock gave me the power to cure diseases. It gave me a little drum. I dreamed that I was on the inside of a tipi and that the rock became a man. The rock man was about to doctor a skeleton. He had three red hot stones. He picked up one in his hands and began to lick it. I watched him and saw that no injury was done him. One after the other, he took up all the heated stones. Then he took an eagle wing fan and a buffalo calf robe. The robe he used to cover the skeleton. Then he waved the fan three times over the robe and at the fourth time, threw the fan at it. As he did this, a rabbit sprang up and ran away. Then the calf skin robe was taken up and the skeleton had disappeared. It was in this dream that I was given the power to handle red hot stones.

(e)

Once when on Milk River I came to a large rock on the side of which a hawk had a nest, but too far down for me to reach. So I lay down on the edge of the rock above and tried to get at the nest with my bow. While I was doing this, the male hawk came and put me to sleep right where I was. This hawk immediately turned into a man, wearing a buffalo robe who addressed me, "My son leave my children alone. I will give you my body that you may live long. Look at me. I am never sick. So you will never have any sickness. I will give you power to fly. You see that ridge over yonder (about a mile away) well, I will give you power to fly there."

On awakening, I told my chum what I had experienced, and that I proposed to fly. So I took off my clothes, and with a buffalo robe went back some distance from the edge of the river. Then I took a run and springing from the edge of the cliff, spread out my arms with the blanket

for wings. I seemed to be going all right for a moment, but soon lost control and fell, striking some rock and rolling into the river. I was stunned by the fall and was drawn under a rock by the current where I went round and round, striking my head. I called to my companion for help. At first he did nothing but scold me for my folly. At last, he took pity on me and pulled me out. Then we started home, but I was very sick and vomited a great deal. When I reached home I asked my mother to fix a shady place outside of the lodge, for my head ached very much. Now, my father had no sympathy for me because he had a suspicion that I had done some foolish thing. He inquired of my companion, and thus learned all that had happened. Then he scolded me, calling me a foolish and presumptuous young fellow, and all the other names he could think of. This is the one time in which I was fooled in my dreams.

#### MEDICINEMAN D.

##### (a)

When I was about fifteen years old my people were camped near the Sweet Grass Hills. My father was a chief and very rich. My mother was a good provider. Both my parents were good-natured. So I thought that my father having been a good man and of some importance, it would be well for me to go out somewhere and sleep and get some power. This was after my parents died. Both of them had advised me to do this. So I went down to the Sweet Grass Hills. Before I went I filled a pipe, took it to a medicineman, telling him that I was poor and that I was going to sleep, etc. The medicineman told me that I would be a great chief some day and that I would have a dream and get some power. So he took some yellow paint, and something for the smudge, sang a song, and began to fix me up. His song was: "The man above hears me. The ground hears me. It is my medicine." Then this man prayed to the sun saying, "Look down upon this boy. He is poor. Give him some power, and help him to become a great man. Help him to become a great chief, etc."

Then the man took the paint, painted me, naming all the different animals as he did so. He named all that fly, all that swim, and all that walk, etc. "Of these, one will come to you. Now when you go out to sleep you must stay with it. You must not be scared away. If you run away, you will not get power to become a great man." Then while the man was painting me he sang this song: "He hears me. The wind is my medicine. The rain is my medicine." He rubbed the paint upon the front and the back of my head and on my breast and back, and on my shoulders. As he did so, he sang, "Now this man has the sun power."



Then I went up on the hills and made a shelter in which to sleep. Looking down, I could just see the camp below. As it grew dark I began to think of bears and was frightened. I thought of how they might come in and eat me. Then I thought that the Assiniboine might come and kill me, but worst of all, I thought that a ghost might come and twist my mouth. (Piegan have the belief that ghosts have the power to twist mouths out of shape and to affect the speech.) When I thought of all this I became greatly afraid, and thought it would be best for me to go home, but when I thought of what the man had told me and of how I should be ridiculed if I failed to stay my time, I thought it would be better to be killed than to endure this. So I thought I would try to sleep, but I could not. All night I imagined I heard people coming, people coughing, etc. I was in great fear all night. The next day I stood on my feet all day, and by night I was so tired, that I had to sleep. Now, of course, I was not afraid. I stayed there for seven days and nights and at last had a dream. In this dream I saw a raven flying toward me and heard him sing. This was in the daytime but I was asleep. Then a person appeared to me and said, "There is a hill down by the river and a man invites you." Now the raven was a messenger and told me that this man had the power of eating. He said, "He knows all about eating. No matter what happens he will never be killed. He will always get food. I am going to call on someone else, but this man is going to help you out." When we came to the man, the raven asked him to help his son (referring to the narrator), as he was a very poor boy. Now the man said, "Raven, you give him power first, then I will fix him up."

So the raven put some red paint down and made a smudge of sweet pine. Then he sang a song, took up the paint and prayed for me. Then he sang another song and made the sound of a raven. Then the raven said, "You must not jump or try to dodge bullets, for they will not hit you. But you must let no one throw a moccasin at you or hit you with it or you will lose your power."

Now it was the man's turn. He wore a coyote skin for a cap and this he gave to me. He made a smudge out of sage grass. (This is seldom used by the Piegan.) Then he sang a song, "I want to eat a person," and made the sound of a coyote. Then he took up some white paint, rubbed it on my body, painted my nose and mouth red, and my head, breast, and back yellow. "Now," said the man, "I give you power to doctor men shot by bullets. Power to take out the bullets. Power to take out things sticking in the throat, as when people are choked." Now I have this power.



(b)

Now below this place (Two Medicine) is a long lake and a place where the land sticks out into the water. On this place are some high rocks. It is a dangerous looking place and I picked it out as a place to sleep. Other people when trying to sleep at this place were always frightened away. I stayed there five days and nights, and at last when I was asleep I dreamed that I was going out in one direction when a man called to me from another direction inviting me to enter his tipi. When I went into the tipi, I found that there were six children in the family. Among them was a girl. The man said, "I give you all my children, my clothes, and my tipi. Now, shut your eyes." While this was going on, the woman in the tipi confided to me that I was to get a puzzle (a kind of mystery).

Now, when my eyes were shut I found something in my throat. It felt as if something slippery was passing down. The man said to me, "Do you feel anything going into you?" "Yes," I replied. "Well," said the man, "I gave you that. After this, you will drink much water. You must never chew anything like gum or lake grass, the onion kind you must never put into your mouth." (One time after this I made a mistake and felt a movement in my stomach and up toward my throat as if something was trying to get out, but I worked it back.) Since that time I drink a great deal of water, because this thing which he gave me requires much water. Every day I must take a swim, as I do not feel right unless I do.

#### MEDICINEMAN E.

(a)

One time I owned a running fisher tipi, and every evening and every morning I burned incense. Now, one night I dreamed that four minks came in. They ran up and down my body. Then a man and his wife came in followed by a yellow dog. The man and his wife were painted red all over. It was in this way that I got the medicine of the minks. In the transfer the minks stood on each side of me, the man in front of me, the woman behind the man, and the dog behind her. The man held a buffalo tail in his hand and waved it while the songs were sung. In this way I learned the songs and the use of the medicine.

(b)

One night I dreamed that I was out in a large forest. The trees were very thick. Presently I heard an owl singing in a tree. So I got up from

my bed, looked around, but could see nothing. Now, the fourth time this happened I saw an owl sitting up in a tree nodding his head. This owl sang a song four times. Then he came down and I went up to him; as I approached him he seemed to be a man. Also, a tipi stood there. The owl invited me into the tipi. I went in and sat down. The owl on one side and I on the other. Then the owl sang the same song again four times. The words in the song were: "Where you sit is medicine." Now this owl gave me his power and this power enables me to cure people.

#### MEDICINEMAN F.

(a)

Now, I will tell you how I once got some power from a skunk. Long ago, when I was camping in a place I went out one morning to get my horse. While going along I saw a skunk following me. I thought to myself, "Now, this skunk wants something from me." So I said to him, "Skunk, follow me." He did so and when I came near the camp I said to him, "Skunk, you wait here." Then I went into the camp and brought out some food for him. The skunk ate. Then he stood up, turned around, raised his tail, and discharged his odor. Then he taught me a formula (songs, etc.) and told me the next time I killed a skunk I should keep the skin as a medicine. These songs and this skin give me the power to cure diseases.

(b)

Once I was watching a woodpecker and another bird sitting on a tree. They said, "Now, watch us and we shall give you power to cure disease." So they taught me songs and how to use them when doctoring the sick. I have used these songs to cure many people.

(c)

One time at a place where Badger Creek runs into Two Medicine River, I saw two owls on a tree. Each owl in turn sang a song. Then one of them spoke to me, telling me that I would always be fortunate and get much property. They told me to take some of their children for medicine. So ever since that I have kept the head of an owl and I have always had much property (50-4437).

(d)

One time when sleeping out on the prairie I saw a lot of buffalo bulls in a dream. There seemed to be two leaders in the herd. These leaders wore

war-bonnets of eagle feathers. One half of the bonnet was painted red, and the other half blue. Their faces were painted in the same way. Their bodies were painted yellow. Each of them carried quivers made of crow wings. Now, these bulls gave me a war-bonnet and some songs. These songs gave me power to get plenty of food, etc. The bulls danced in a circle as they sang.

(c)

Once in a dream I saw some crows with white paint on their breasts and tails. The crows told me they would give me power, so that when I wished the weather to be foggy I must paint myself similarly. Thus, I got power to make foggy weather. Also, they gave me power to get much food, property, etc.

(f)

As you ask me how I came by my power to find things that are lost, I shall tell you the story. I got this power from a fish hawk. Once when a young man I went with a war party against the Crow, and when we were near the Yellowstone River a buffalo was killed. Here I left the war party. At this time the Yellowstone River was high. I saw some fish hawks with a nest on an island in the river. I cut out some meat from the buffalo, and went as near to the nest as I could get, offering the meat to the fish hawks. Then I laid it down upon a rock, saying, "This is for you." Then I lay down upon the ground. One of the fish hawks made a noise. The female flew around over me. As I lay on my back looking up she dropped a stick on me saying, "This is a whistle. It will give you power to see through muddy water." Then she dived down, went under the water, stayed a long time, and came out with a fish. "Now," said she, "you have this power." Then the male fish hawk dived and came up with a fish. Ever since that time I have had my power.

#### MEDICINEMAN G.

This man is especially skillful in what is called Cree medicine which has to do with the diseases of women in particular, but also applies to other kinds of sickness and love affairs. His narration was as follows:—

(a)

Whenever an Indian sleeps and especially when he has a dream, he appeals to the power of a moth or butterfly. When I was a small boy I was very poor, but being anxious to become a somebody, went out to sleep

alone in dangerous places, hoping that I might have a dream and obtain some power thereby. I had my first dream at the mouth of the river. In this dream I saw a boy. There was nothing unusual about him. He wore leggings of calfskin, a shirt, and a robe. When I saw him I was making a hole in the ground in which to build a fire. The boy said to me, "Come over to see my father," but I refused to go with him. The next night the boy came again and invited me to come over to see his father, but I refused again. However, the next night I agreed to go. He opened a door in the side of a rock and we entered. There was a family of three people in it: a man, a woman, and the boy. When I went in, the woman made signs to me implying that I would be offered some medicine by her husband, but that I should decline everything except some owl feathers hanging by the door.

After I had been there for a while the man said to me, "Look around this tipi, see the medicine which hangs here, you may take your choice." Now, the woman continued to advise me secretly by signs, and after looking over the medicine I said to the man, "I will take the feathers by the door." "Why do you want those?" said the man, "they are no good whatever." But I insisted that I wanted them and at the fourth request the man consented. When he gave me the feathers he said, "My son, you will never be killed in battle; but I will tell you two things. You will be in a fight some time and a ball will pass through you. Then again you will be in a fight and a ball will strike you but not pass through. I sent for you because my boy said that a stranger was sleeping near by and that he needed help. So I requested him to bring you in, saying that if you chose the owl feathers I would do something for you."

Then the man showed me his power. He hung up a robe, shot at it, the bullet struck it and fell down to the ground. "This is the way your body will be," he said. Then again he said, "If you want the ball to go through it, do it this way." Then he took up a straw and pushed it against the robe, and it passed through like a sharp needle. "Thus you will have the power to make bullets go through," he said.

Now, one time I was in a fight and I said to myself, "Here is a chance to try my power. Now let a ball go through my body." At once, a ball passed through my shoulder. Then I said, "Let a ball not go through my body." Then three balls struck me, but fell to the ground. They left three marks on my body, however.

(b)

One time I had a dream in which a man came to me and said, "My son, what are you doing here?" I explained to him that I was sleeping out in

the hope that I might get some kind of power. "Well," said the man, "here is a weasel skin, and you will be able to cure many people with it." This man also gave me a squirrel tail and with these things I cure disorders of the bowels. The way I do this is to tie the squirrel tail on the man's belt, allowing him to wear it four nights.

(c)

Now another time I had a dream in which a man appeared to me and said, "I give you my body. You must carve its image in wood and carry it with you. Whenever anyone has a hemorrhage put the image on his body and the hemorrhage will stop." With this I have cured wounds, disorders of the bowels and hemorrhage.

(d)

Once when I was out in the north (Canada) my wife died. I went out on the prairie to mourn and wandered about and slept anywhere I happened to be. One night I slept on a ridge where some Indians were buried. After this I fell very ill, and one day about noon, when the people were in my tipi, I recovered. At the moment of recovery, I could see through the side of the tipi as if it were transparent. I saw the ridge where I slept. I saw all the dead sitting up in their grave boxes. Then I told the people that the dead were sitting up. None of the people could see them, but I could see them during the whole day. Once I saw them get out and shake off all their clothes. I saw them take up their blankets and start toward the camp, led by a woman with a baby. Then I asked the people what was going to happen and when I told them what I saw they declared me to be crazy. Now the procession of the dead came up to the tipi; they were all painted; they came and stood before me. I cried out that they were after me. Then one of the dead took the baby which the woman carried and put it down on a small red neck cloth. One of the dead said, "We shall kill this young man with the baby." Then the dead began to dance around in the tipi. I covered my face with the blanket and shut my eyes. Now, I saw my own dead body before me. All this time the dead were dancing. One of them took up the baby, swung it three times and threw it at my body. My body dodged; then each one of the dead in succession tried to hit my body with the baby, but none of them succeeded. Then one of them said, "Well, we shall have to let him go this time."

One of the dead addressed me, "My son, we will give you a neck cloth which belonged to the baby. This neck cloth will give you power to cure

cramps, rheumatism, etc. It also has power to pick up red hot stones and fire. So I received from them this formula: neck cloth, red hot stones, and tea.

(e)

I saw a dog that had been shot through the neck and kidneys. I felt sorry for the dog and carried him home to the camp, fed him and took care of him. One day I lay down and slept beside him. I had a dream. In the dream the dog became a man and spoke to me. The dog said, "Now, I will give you some roots for medicine and show you how to use them. Whenever you see anyone who is ill and feel sorry for him, use this medicine and he will be well." One of these medicines is good for sore throat.

(f)

This is about the Cree medicine. When I was a young man I began to think of picking out a young girl for myself. Finally, I came to have one particular girl in mind and always thought of her, but she never took notice of me. Then I heard of a man who had power to make love medicine. So I took a horse and went over to his camp. I entered his tipi and after a time told him what I wished. He said to me, "Do you believe this medicine has power? If you believe in it I will give it to you." I told him that I did believe in it, but the old man repeated this question several times. Each time I protested that I did believe in it.

Then the man closed the smoke hole to the tipi and everything around so that all was tight. Then he gave me the medicine. He directed me to give away my clothes to a stranger and request that stranger to go and pull a hair from the girl's head. She must know nothing of this, but he must secure it, while talking to her or some of her companions.

Then I went home, gave my clothes away as a present to an old woman, requesting her to get a hair for me. Now, the woman happened to be over at the tipi of the girl and offered to look for lice upon her head. While doing this she stole a hair.

Now, the medicine given me was tied up in a very small buckskin bag, and I took the hair as directed and placed it in the bag. That same evening at sundown, the girl came into camp looking for me. When night came, she came into my tipi. For a long time, she followed me about everywhere as if hypnotized. After a while, I took the hair out of the bag and gave it back to her. I explained to her that it was all over between us and that she would never care for me any more. Then she went away and never came back.

## (g)

One time a girl made fun of me, so I got a horse and took it to a Cree Indian that I might get some medicine. He gave me two medicines. One medicine was to be used in case I could not induce anyone to go to the girl. I was to mix up the medicine as directed and dip the end of a straw in it to make dots on the palm of my hand in the form of a square with one in the center. Then I was to run my hand over my eyes, go into the camp, and watch my chance to get the girl to look at me. I was told that if I got her eye, I would have her.

When I was ready I started out to find this girl. I saw her going down for water so I went down that way and met her as she was coming back. As I passed by, the girl said, "My, you smell like Cree medicine." Then I started back toward her tipi. She followed, came in, threw herself upon me, and kissed me. Then I reproached her and so did all the people in the tipi. But this had no effect upon her for she kept me there for three days. Then I thought it was time to break the spell, so I took a cup of water, made the five dots upon the water and drank. Then I gave some of the water to the girl. Then she paid no more attention to me.

## (h)

At another time I saw a very fine girl. She had long hair and was very beautiful, so I put the medicine on my hands, rubbed them on my breast, upon my blanket, and on the soles of my feet. Then I walked around the girl's tipi in the direction of the sun, returning to my own tipi. Now all this time the girl was away at the agency getting rations for her family. On her return, when she came to my trail she stopped. Then she took her meat into the house and came out again. She stood outside, arranging her clothes and looking toward my tipi. Then she went in and dressed herself up. Then she started toward my tipi. Then she turned back, cooked some food, and when it was ready brought it out with her and came into my tipi. Then I covered myself up with my blanket and pretended to sleep.

When the girl came up she looked in at the door and said, "He must be asleep." My people said, "No, he is not asleep." Then she came in and said, "Get up and eat." (This is merely a formal marriage ceremony.)

When the girl had finished feeding me, I made her a present. She did not go away at once, but after a time took the present back to her tipi. In a short time she returned and said, "I cannot stay away from you, you must have some power over me." "Oh, no," I replied, "you are mistaken." I advised her to return. "Well," she said, "I cannot." Then I started to



leave the tipi, she took hold of me and held me back. Then I decided to marry this girl, and she has been my woman ever since. I have never released her from the power of the medicine.

(i)

One time I was the victim of the Cree medicine. I went on a visit. I had a very fine horse. My host tried to induce me to give him the horse as a present, but I did not like to part with it. Now, this man had a sister. After a while, she came around me and carelessly rubbed her hand on me, saying, "Come over to the tipi and eat."

When I had finished eating, I began to feel a great desire to stay. I struggled with myself. I started out, was a long time saddling my horse, and finally decided to go home; but as soon as I reached my tipi, I turned about and came back again. It seemed that I did not know what I was doing. When I stood outside of her tipi, I hesitated to enter. I would start away and immediately come back. Then my host asked me to come in, and when I told him what the trouble was, he advised me to go away at once. But I did not heed his advice. I could do nothing but think of that girl. Finally, I went out and stood some distance from the tipi, and as I was standing there the girl passed. I stood perfectly still. As she returned she spoke to me saying, "Come in." Now I was glad and followed her at once. The next day the girl's brother told me that she had put love medicine on me. So I had to give her the horse to be released.

Though the Blackfoot did not have a love medicine of their own, they made use of such obtained from the Cree. What they consider Cree medicine, however, may be used for almost any purpose. In view of the reported prevalence of such formulae among the western Cree data on this point may be important and justify the following extracts from Duvall's notes:—

The Cree medicine consists of roots of many different kinds of plants pulverized and tied up in small buckskin bags, about one half inch in diameter. Sometimes these small bags may be seen fastened in rows of four or tied together in bunches. The Piegan claim that such medicine bags were tied to the cross stick used in the horse medicine (p. 108). This Cree medicine can be used in many different ways both externally and internally. It is effective in absent treatment. They also work its power by degrees. The power of these medicines is specific in that each particular medicine has power only over a definite thing. The Blackfoot regard them with fear and consider them very dangerous to handle or use. Those who do



make use of them must pray continually and exercise great care to carry out all the directions and requirements. They must be used secretly and are first held over a smudge of sweetgrass while praying to them. The bag is then opened and the medicine used according to directions.

The medicines are used chiefly in love affairs. When a man wishes to win a girl's heart he first tries to secure some of her hair and when he gets it, places a lock in the small bag with the medicine. Then as the medicine takes effect the girl suddenly finds her whole mind occupied by the man who made the medicine and eventually becomes so affected that she is only satisfied when by his side. Should she be prevented from seeing him, she would be in great distress, cry, expressing her wish to see the man who made the medicine and nothing else would satisfy her. Then again, a man could put some of the medicine into chewing gum and give it to the girl whose affection would be won in the same way. Again, it could be secretly placed in her food. Such love medicine could be used either by a woman or a man with like results.

There is also an antidote which may be carried or used by anyone to prevent the operation of love medicines.

As previously stated, all such medicines are dangerous to handle and should one be careless with them he is likely to get the dose himself instead of the one toward whom he directed it. If he were not punished in this way he might expect bad luck, failure in health, the loss of relatives, etc. In consequence of this, everyone using the medicine not only does it secretly but with great caution.

A special formula sometimes used is for the charmer to take a large piece of birchbark upon which are drawn the pictures of a man and a woman. Then a small sharpened stick is dipped into the Cree medicine and touched to the hearts of the two pictures. The idea is that as soon as this is done the person for whom the medicine was made is suddenly possessed with a strong desire to see the charmer and may be expected to visit him soon.

Cree medicines are transferred in about the same manner as medicine bundles. The fees are usually a horse and miscellaneous property. Usually, when one wishes to win another's love, he or she calls upon some person known to have such medicine, engaging them to do the charming instead. For this, liberal fees are given. Such persons may also be called upon to injure another, as to induce insanity, blindness, lameness, discoloration of the face, distortion of the mouth, etc. On the other hand, there are owners of Cree medicine who have the power to remove or restore all injuries produced in this way. The usual procedure in such cases is to suck or otherwise draw something from the victim's body which is then loaded into a gun and fired off, the belief being that the medicine at once returns

to the one who sent it and entering his body afflicts him with the same injury. It is said that the medicine will reach him although a thousand miles away. An informant well versed in the Cree medicine states that he knew of its being used on a woman noted for her extra fine beadwork. In consequence of her skill in this line one of her neighbors became very jealous of her and so made medicine causing her skillful rival to suffer many months with a sore hand. After she had been unable to use her hand for a year a white doctor lanced it and found part of a needle in the palm. When the people heard of this they told the doctor that the needle had been shot into the woman's hand by means of Cree medicine but he only laughed and said there was no such thing. So to prove that story, they told him to see how long he could keep this needle. Then he put it into a bottle and corked it up tightly but was greatly surprised the next day when he found that the bottle was still corked up but no needle inside. A year after this he cut another needle from the same woman's hand. Later, it disappeared and turned up in one of her knees on account of which her leg has always been stiff. This woman is living to-day, so they say.

Other medicines are to be used in the stick game. By the help of such medicines one seldom fails to win. The usual method is to carry a small bag concealed in the clothing. Some medicines are similarly used in foot races. The runners rub some of the medicine on their legs just before going into the race and occasionally some of it is eaten. Before the start, the runners using the Cree medicine endeavor to pass twice in front of their opponents, which it is believed induces the Cree medicine to act in such a way as to cramp the legs. For horse racing the formulae resemble very much that described in the section on horse medicines (p. 110). Others were effective in war to prevent the dogs of the enemy giving the alarm, etc. A favorite charm to work against the enemy was to dip rifle balls into Cree medicine before placing them in the gun, the idea being that anyone struck by such a ball would surely die.<sup>1</sup>

Cree medicine is sometimes used in hunting to charm the game and also in the reverse manner to prevent a rival hunter from succeeding. Other medicine rubbed on the legs enables the hunter or warrior to stand a long march, to gain on the one pursued, and in turn to affect his legs. Other medicines rubbed on a child will prevent its crying for its own mother, as when taken by another to raise. It is said that the Cree when on the warpath frequently rubbed some of this medicine on their legs to prevent fatigue and to retard the speed of the enemy.

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<sup>1</sup> Some Piegan informants claim that it is not the custom to use the Cree medicine on rifle balls, but that among their enemies they themselves had the reputation of using poisoned bullets because wounds made by them were usually fatal. They explained this as probably due to the fact that when fighting the custom was to wet the ball in the mouth before loading.

A medicine is also used to gain the good will or influence of friends so that they may be liberal in gifts of property, horses, etc. In such cases, a drawing on birchbark is used as in Fig. 1. The drawing represents a tipi with many radiating lines representing ropes drawing on other peoples' property, such as, horses, saddles, guns, clothing, etc. As these many lines all lead to his tipi they symbolize his power to draw in or acquire such

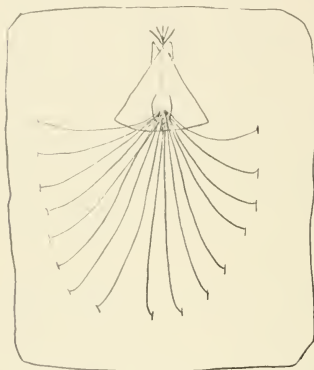


Fig. 1. Design on Birchbark used in the Cree Medicine. Drawn by a Piegan.

property. When a man has one of these birchbark medicines all visitors are strongly moved to make handsome gifts to the host. In using the medicine, the owner first rubs the birchbark with the contents of the small medicine bag then secretly places it at the lower inside of the tipi cover behind one of the rear poles. Then everyone entering the tipi falls under the spell of its secret influence. The bark is described as being about one foot square and must be held in a smudge of sweetgrass every time the tipi is moved. It is always kept behind one of the back lodge poles as noted above.

The Cree, it is said, sometimes take the brains of their enemies and mix them with medicine. This makes a very powerful and dangerous formula. Again, it is said, the hearts of the bravest enemies killed in battle were torn out, dried, pulverized, and mixed with medicine. The Piegan say that such medicine was used by the Cree to cause death, and other calamities.

Though not widely known and used by the Blackfoot, a few individuals make a practice of purchasing Cree medicines from the Cree and loaning, or transferring, them to others for fees. The Cree usually demand high prices for their medicine, even as much as a horse and other property for a single small bag. When the Blackfoot are visiting the Cree they are usually very careful lest they come under the influence of someone's medicine. It is said that Calf-chief, once the head of the Piegan tribe, was killed through the power of Cree medicine, some of the Cree having a grudge against him, causing him to fall ill with a severe headache of which he died in four days. All visiting Cree are always carefully treated because it is believed that should an old Cree medicineman be insulted by anyone or come to dislike anyone he will be sure to make him the victim of his medicine.

## II. PERSONAL CHARMS AND MEDICINES.

The subject matter of this section differs from the preceding only in that we take material specimens as the points of departure. Indeed, some of the preceding can have no consistent claim to their place of treatment except that they happened to be integral parts of a series of narratives from one person. In most cases all such experiences as just recounted are associated definitely with material objects worn, handled, or cared for, and spoken of as medicine objects. With such objects then there is the belief in an experience, usually a dream, during which some power or protection was conferred upon the dreamer. We collected a number of these objects, giving here in some detail those that seem to present the types and concerning which our information is more or less complete. We also collected information concerning many that were or could not be collected, but as these presented no important differences from those collected they may be omitted.

A feature to be noted is that all these are individual and special rather than general. While such a distinction is not absolute it is convenient. Thus, the conceptions underlying the use of navel-cord amulets are analogous to those underlying other charms in that such originated in an individual experience; but in practice, one needs only to hang on the person an object of the prescribed form to secure the protection desired. This is the sort of charm we ourselves know best; the mere presence of the object is sufficient to secure the result. With the class we have now to deal, this is not the case, for though one wore a similar object, he would not profit thereby unless put in the proper individual relation.

In passing, it may be noted that many such simple charms are known to the Blackfoot, though the navel-cord amulet is the most conspicuous. The conception of its origin, however, is that it originated as an individual personal charm.<sup>1</sup> As we are interested in functions rather than origins, further consideration of this class seems unnecessary.

Another point of interest is that these personal charms are almost exclusively the property of men; general charms are chiefly for children, but rarely for women. Their functions are thus determined by the activities of men. While it may be possible to group these according to similarity of functions, they all tend toward the same end, to conserve the welfare of the

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, 126.

owner, and in the main to meet situations on the warpath. Thus, it seems best to review somewhat in the order of their complexity what seem to be typical charms. Further, the following are all treated as bundles since when not in actual use, each is kept in wrappings of cloth.

One of the simplest is the prepared skin of a small bird (50-5448), formerly used by a Blood Indian. In a simple wrapping of cloth, this was carried on journeys to war or after game; when engaging an enemy it was taken out and tied in the hair at the top of the head.

The skin of a gopher, to the neck of which was bound a close cluster of twelve small spherical brass buttons (50-4475) was, when in use, worn on a braid of the hair. It was acquired in a dream by a Piegan and afforded protection in war. The buttons were said to represent "bunched stars," or Pleiades. (The usual symbolism is six stars.)

Of a somewhat different character, and so far as we know unique, was a medicine hair dress worn by a Piegan. He tied the hair at the forehead in a bunch with a thong of buckskin. When a young man, he went to a famous warrior, gave him whisky, and made him drunk. Then he asked him for power. The man tied up his hair and told him that this gave him power.

When he went out to get horses in the night and the dogs barked, he was to toss a stone to one side of them and they would be quiet; but he must never kill a dog. A song was given him as a part of the formula.

A more complicated charm is shown in Fig. 2. The brass button at the top stands for the morningstar; the curved crosspiece, the sun woman (the moon). Along the edge of the latter were twelve brass nails, representing stars. The bunch of four small bells is said to stand for star clusters, though on this point our information is not definite. The pendant plumes and a bit of weasel fur are added as is usual on objects associated with the morningstar and the sun.

The two objects in Fig. 3 constituted the war medicine of a Piegan. They are respectively, a necklace, and a hair ornament, and bear as secondary characters various symbols relating to dream experiences.

The necklace came down to its last owner together with a particular song; the whole formula is supposed to keep off bullets and blows. The foundation of the piece is a string of beads, black in color, to represent the night sky. To it are attached seven small buckskin bags representing the seven stars, or



FIG. 2. 50-4434. A Personal Charm. Piegan



Fig. 3a (50-4539), b (50-4540). War Charms. a A Necklace, b A Hair Ornament. Piegan.



Great Dipper. The bags contain the leaves of some unidentified plant. A compound disc of brass is attached, representing the sun and bearing the usual strips of weasel fur. Clustering in this are four small black buttons, suggesting the bells in Fig. 2. Finally, there are fifteen long pendants each bearing a red bead and a brass button, representing stars in general. The seven small bags have their edges beaded in blue. The hair ornament is of a well-known type, but this one was dreamed by its owner. The disc is the sun, and the bunch of horse hair at the end is the objective symbol of a prayer for horses. The import of the dream in which this was bestowed was that it would bring prosperity.

In the Lenders collection recently presented to the Museum by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan is a similar piece, in fact almost a duplicate, said to be from the Blackfoot. It is possible that it came from the same individual. The curious facings of small blue beads found upon the edges of the seven medicine bags is also met with in certain Gros Ventre war charms and on a few Arapaho medicine bags.

A bunch of owl feathers (50-5390) was worn by a Piegan. A brief of the formula is as follows: The owner was riding rapidly in a strange place. His horse stumbled and threw him. He was stunned by the blow and remained unconscious for some time. While in this state, two men came to him and each took one of his hands. Thus, they led him back to familiar ground. One of the two men took pity on him and gave him some power. This was the right to a song and the feathers of an owl. Some time after reaching home he took some owl feathers and made the charm. This, with the song, he used for many years. After a time, the same man appeared to him in a dream and taught him another song. This was incorporated into the old formula.

The head of a small owl (50-5396) was owned by a Blood who claimed to have received it from his father many years ago. His father dreamed of an owl and received power from it. When going to war he was to wear the charm upon the crown of his head, paint his face and body yellow, making longitudinal marks on the face and limbs with the fingers and in the fight sing two songs. The first of these songs expressed the theme, "I am the sun," while the second contained no words. The power of this formula was considered so great that neither the father nor the present owner was ever wounded in battle.

From the Blood Reserve a raven's head was secured (50-5399). This is a charm against the power of the thunder but was also carried to war. The object is carefully wrapped in cloth, painted red, and kept in a cylindrical case. Around the neck is a band of red flannel. At sunrise it is taken out of the tipi and hung upon a tripod in the rear; at sunset it is again

returned to the tipi. When the object is to be taken from the bundle, a smudge is made, the hands held over it, then the hands are held over the face and once to the breast. At the approach of a thunderstorm the object is unwrapped and the call of the raven imitated; because of the traditional power of the raven, over the thunder, he is supposed to prevent harm to the tipi and its inmates.

A more pretentious charm is an eagle's head (50-4549) with accessories. Brass buttons have been sewed into the eye sockets and the feathers are coated with the residue of many paintings with yellow earth. In war, or on festive occasions, it is tied crosswise on the crown of the head. A whistle of the wing bone of an eagle belongs with the outfit and is to be worn suspended from the neck in the usual manner. The ever present braid of sweetgrass is found in the bundle and used for the smudge. In addition, a peculiar rock formation is pounded fine and burned with the sweetgrass. This rock is held to be in rapport with the thunder because of its sulphurous odor. In its natural state the rock is striated, and to the Indian seems to have been scratched down by the claws of some animal; hence, the bundle contains the claw of a wildcat, which is used in marking the paint on the body and face. The painting for this bundle is as follows: the entire body is painted yellow, perpendicular scratches are made down the face with the claw, a transverse red mark is made by drawing the finger tip across the eyes, another across the mouth, with the bare fingers marks are made upon the arms and legs representing the claws of the eagle. When about to go into a fight or expecting danger, the owner takes out some of the sweetgrass and the powdered stone and makes a smudge, paints himself, ties on the charm, and singing the songs and sounding the whistle dashes into the fight. He believes that he cannot be hit. However, if the painted claw symbols or the eagle head be struck, he can be killed.

The eagle's head together with all the accessories when not in use was wrapped in several pieces of cloth, constituting a small medicine bundle. We secured it from its second owner, the formula having been transferred to him by the man who first received it about ninety years ago. The narrative of its initial origin will be found in our collection of myths and tales.<sup>1</sup> The ideas expressed in the songs are:—

- 1 "I don't want them [enemy] to kill me.  
These here [the straw, etc.] I shall fight with."
- 2 "This here, my head-top, wear.  
It is powerful.  
Guns for me are fun [easy to overcome]."

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, 103.



- 3 "That there I am looking for.  
Guns [are] my medicine."
- 4 "Gun I want to eat [capture]."
- 5 "Now let me eat a gun."<sup>1</sup>

One of the most famous war charms known to the Blackfoot people is shown in Fig. 4. This seemed due to the fact that a noted Blood warrior, One-spot, carried it for many years; his great deeds being attributed not so much to any initiative of his own as to the power of the formula objectified by this charm. It was very much desired by others but the owner always refused to transfer it. It is in the form of a scarf, a broad strip of yellow dog skin from the nose to the tail tip, mounted on red flannel. To the eye holes are attached beaded discs bearing brass buttons; over the ears are what may be the symbols of feet on quill-covered strips of buffalo hide. At various points are feathers of owls, hawk, eagle, and prairie chicken, together with strips of weasel skin. Two bells adorn the tail piece. This, like others of its kind, is based upon a dream experience and bears a formula with songs. In singing, the tail piece is held in the hand and a bell accompaniment given (phonograph record, 436).

A charm resembling the preceding but concerning which we have more information is shown in Fig. 5. It is an otterskin. The skin has been removed from the animal in one piece, split down the belly from the nose to the tip of the tail. In the holes where the legs were, pieces of leather, wrapped with flannel and beads with feathers are inserted, bells and weasel skins hang from the ends. The tail is tipped in a similar fashion. A slit is cut in the top of the head and neck pieces. Across the top is the bill of a white swan with the skin of the neck attached. This is to give the owner general powers in life and war: the song for this expresses the idea, "Alone I [swan] walk [fly]; it is medicine." To the bill of the swan are hung duck feathers to give the power of swiftness: the song, "The lake is my lodge." At the end of the swan skin the wing of an owl is hung to give power in the night so that the horses of the enemy may be taken: the song, "The night is my medicine; I hoot." To the skin of the swan are attached two metal discs; the large one represents the morningstar, the small one the "smoking-star," or "daystar." The songs are: "I am the morningstar," and "The daystar, he hears me; he is my medicine." The bells represent the power of the sun; the song, "These medicines are powerful." The entire skin of a jay bird, found in the mountains, is tied to the back of the skin and this is said to give power to treat disease as well as secure success in war: the song, "The mountains are my lodge: the woods are my medicine." A num-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, 101.

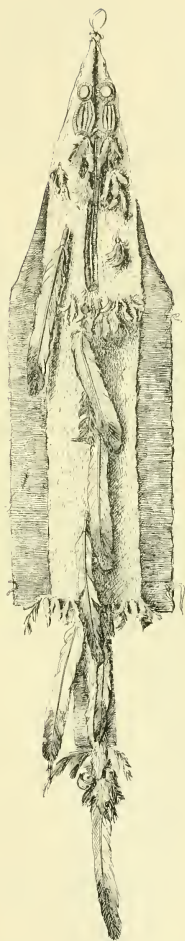


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

Fig. 4 (50-5418). A Scarf regarded as a War Medicine. Blood.

Fig. 5 (50-5420). A Scarf of Otterskin, a War Medicine. Piegan.

ber of feathers are arranged in groups on the specimen and refer to birds in general as the song is, "All flying beings are sun-powerful; they hear me." There is one song for the otter: "I am swinging around in the water." The bells are shaken as an accompaniment to this.

The charm was accumulated by transfers and individual experiences. When the owl appeared to the owner, it forbade his being struck with a moccasin for he would be wounded in that place, all others being invulnerable. The owl also gave power over horses as evidenced by a bit of horse hair.

Two face paintings are associated with the formula. The jay bird bore a formula useful in treating disease for which the face was painted yellow with blue on the forehead. When on the warpath, the face was painted yellow and dotted over with blue to represent the owl; for this there is a song, "I [the owl] am looking for something to eat [an enemy or a horse]."

On the whole, the preceding charms may be considered as personal war bundles. We pass now to a class of objects used by medicinemen, though the distinctions are by no means absolute. The head and neck of an owl (50-4437) was used by a Piegan whose personal narratives are given on p. 8. There is a beaded band around the neck. It may be noted that in such objects the neck of the bird usually bears an ornamental band to which a suspension cord is attached. Medicinemen kept mammals, birds, and other objects with which special formulae were associated; some of them were for success in war and other occupations, and some for the treatment of disease. A fairly complete outfit used by a Piegan (Narrator A, p. 72) was collected: it consists of a robe (50-4507); headdress (Fig. 6), necklace (Fig. 6), wand of feathers (Fig. 7), a whistle (50-4561), an albino magpie (50-5391), a number of birds (50-5392), and a drum (50-4531). This man was also noted for his power as a doctor.

The most striking object is the robe.<sup>1</sup> It is of cloth in yellow ground with corners of blue. Scattered over the surface are circular patches of blue representing stars. Near the center is a large red spot bordered with blue and covered by a brass disc, the whole representing the sun. Below, is a blue crescent for the moon, and still lower, a red spot bordered by blue for the morningstar. To the various blue spots on the robe are fastened bells, feathers, and skins of the weasel and gopher. The whole was given in a dream to a North Piegan, who transferred it to its late owner. Two songs (records 349-50) belong to its formula: "Sun, look upon me. You see me now. Take pity on me."

The headdress is a band of running-fisher skin. (Fig. 6.) On the front

<sup>1</sup> McClintock, 312.



Fig. 6 (50-4532). The Headdress, Neck-  
lace and Face Painting of a particular Medi-  
cineman. Piegan.



Fig. 7 (50-4533). A feather Wand. The peacock feather represents the moon, the beaded figure, the one-legged woman in the moon. Used by a particular medicineman.

is a brass disc representing the sun and above it an eagle plume. At the back are eagle feathers and a disc representing the morningstar. At one side is a red-winged blackbird, so placed that he appears to be looking forward. This bird and the plume came from the thunder and have to do with powers over the weather. At the sides are small tufts of the ever-present weasel fur, as usual, painted pink. The whole headdress had some power in war, its late owner having performed some deeds with it but more often loaned it to young men to whom he temporarily transferred its power and for which he received a share of the plunder. There are five songs (records 352-6). The one to be used on the warpath runs: "The people even my children are; pity them. On a high place, I see all around." Similar words are used in a song referring to the plume. Referring to the feathers: "My children, pity them. On a high place," etc. The old woman's (moon) song refers to the two discs and runs, "Look, see if I am not a fine looking woman." Another song belongs to the bird.

The necklace bears a large shell disc representing the sun for which there is a song, "Sun, look upon me. I want to smoke." (Record 351.)

For the drum there are two songs: "Sun, look at me; I am poor; pity me. Man, say it; to be safe; I want it." (Record 357.)

The wand of raven feathers is interesting in that the beaded portion bears the figure of a woman, representing the moon, as does also the eye of a peacock feather. The origins for some of these are given under A (p. 74).

#### ORIGINS OF RITUALS.

By this time the reader has become aware that a dream is the origin of all these medicines and that the object is after all but an objective part of a ritual. Hence, it seems best to discuss at

some length certain aspects of this phase of culture together with certain beliefs and conceptions pertaining thereto, because the complex rituals in the succeeding sections of this paper will thereby be better understood. The great importance still attached to dreams seems to be but a surviving remnant of what once absorbed almost the entire attention of the leading men, for we read in the journal of Henry that, "If a Piegan dreams something particular, on awakening, he instantly rouses his wife, makes a speech about his dream, and begins to sing, accompanied by this woman, and sometimes all his wives join in chorus. If he dreams of having drunk liquor, he gets up, relates the circumstances, sings for a long time with his women, and then, if not too far from the fort, comes in to have his dream accomplished. During my short stay here I have frequently been awakened by such speeches and songs in the dead of the night."<sup>1</sup>

We have not been able to determine whether these experiences are limited to real dreams or include vivid day-dreams and sudden emotional bursts of thought and imagination. We are inclined to believe that anything short of a dream or vision (normal workings of the mind of a person awake) would be rejected by a body of intelligent Blackfoot as of no medicine value. The delirium and hysterical accompaniment of some kinds of sickness are generally regarded as supernatural, but more as glimpses into the future life than as the occasions in which powers are conferred. We do, however, recall a few cases in which sick men claim to have received such powers; but none of the more important rituals are assigned to such origins. The attitude toward alcoholic intoxication is uncertain because there seems to have been a gradual moral awakening to its evil effects, which may account for the present tendency to consider experiences so induced as of no particular consequence. Thus, while it is not at all clear just what psychological phenomena may enter into the origin of a ritual, we shall, for convenience, speak of them as dreams.

A point of special interest in our further discussion of the more complex rituals is the manner of interpreting dreams, for it is apparent that among a people where there are at least as many rituals of the preceding type as there are adult males, the actual dream experiences could scarcely present such uniformity as we observed and certainly not contain so many well composed songs without a system of some kind. It seems to us obvious that in the objective aspects of the preceding examples, at least, there is a conventional mode of formulating what we choose to call the ritual; this ritual consisting of a narrative, one or more songs, an object and accessories, and in many cases, certain requirements of the person concerned. Owing to

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<sup>1</sup> Henry and Thompson, 732.



difficulties already stated, we have little more than inferential knowledge on this point. We were usually told with every mark of sincerity that the ritual and narrative were precisely as experienced in the origin. On the other hand, it was stated that unless the dreamer was a man of medicine experience or one possessing great confidence in himself, he would call upon one possessing these qualifications for advice. From what we have learned, we feel reasonably certain that the advice is in most cases an interpretation, a deliberate composition of a ritual. For illustration, we offer an incident in which unfortunately the writer did not take full advantage of the situation. Once when crossing the reservation a threatened thunderstorm caused us to make camp quickly. While hurriedly pitching our tent, a bird was observed hopping about within a few feet of the writer, following his movements. During the constant peels of thunder no more than passing attention was given to it, but when the tent was finally pitched, the bird had disappeared and the threatened storm was passing just to our left, leaving us unharmed and dry. On mentioning this to a man of reputed medicine experience we were informed that this was an incident of unusual importance, for the bird had not only protected us from the thunder but had sought to convey some kind of power. He asked if singing had not been heard and a voice speaking, finally suggesting that an experienced man be called upon to "fix it up". All further discussion of the incident he declined as unsafe. Doubtless, if the writer had accepted the veiled offer, a typical ritual would have been produced. Of course, there is no doubt on our part but that rituals are deliberately composed from suggestions received in dreams; the only information we sought was as to the methods and conditions under which this was done. There are reasons for believing that the fundamental conventionality is the tendency to assign a dream origin to everything of importance on the theory that everything is to be truly explained by such phenomena. For example, the writer once remarked that the inventor of the phonograph was a remarkable man. The immediate reply was that he was in no wise different from others but that in a dream he was told to take certain materials and place them in certain relations, with the promise of certain results. The carrying away of the voice was regarded as a great medicine power and the inventor in question as merely a lucky individual, who must have experienced great prosperity and happiness in consequence. While this statement was unusually abstract, it was not otherwise at variance with many others observed in the course of our work. To return to the main point, we believe that the evidence at hand warrants the assumption that the sincerity of many Blackfoot men in their contention that rituals however personal, are literal dream experiences, is due to an unwavering faith in the theory of dream origin and, hence, the

feeling that if the thing comes into mind at all, it must in consequence be a dream.

Another important Blackfoot idea is the conception of the transfer of power that takes place in such a dream experience. Allowing for variations, the Blackfoot theory is that there functions in the universe a force (natoji = sun power) most manifest in the sun but pervading the entire world, a power (natoji) that may communicate with individuals making itself manifest in and through any object, usually animate. Such manifestation is by speech rather than deed and in every narrative based upon it, it is stated or implied that at the moment of speaking the object becomes for the time being "as a person." We found no clear distinction as to whether the power masked as the object or whether the object itself masked as a person. Such logical analysis seems not to have been necessary to the Blackfoot belief and practice. To them it seems sufficient also that power is given, without further speculation as to its ultimate source, simply natoji. The being appearing in the dream offers or consents upon request to give power for some specific purpose. This is done with more or less ceremony; usually the face and hands of the recipient are painted, songs sung, directions given for invoking the power and certain obligations, or taboos, laid upon the recipient. The being conferring power is not content with saying that it shall be, but formally transfers it to the recipient with appropriate ceremonies. This is regarded as a compact between the recipient and the being then manifest, and each is expected to fulfill faithfully his own obligations. The compact is a continuous relation and no matter how complex the ritual may be or how important to the tribe, it is in every case still a matter solely between one individual and the being who gave it. The ritual, to the Blackfoot, is in reality an assumed faithful reproduction of the original transfer. All of these points will be given further consideration, but at this stage of our discussion it is important to know that the initial recipient has the right to transfer the compact to another but in doing so relinquishes all right to any benefits to be derived from it. It will then be useless for him to appeal to it in the hour of need for it has, in theory, completely passed out of his life. When such a transfer takes place, the original transfer is reproduced as faithfully as possible. Theoretically, the recipient of a ritual is in the precise relation he would be if experiencing the dream himself; hence, it is impossible to tell from the form of the narrative whether the narrator himself had the initial experience or not. He feels justified in speaking in the first person. Thus, many of the preceding accounts, even some for the seven men of medicine experience, are probably many times removed from the initial recipient.

It will be observed that the song is in most respects the vital part of the



ritual and that the initial transfer of the power usually reaches its climax in the presentation of the song. Thus, we found men often willing to sell the charm or medicine objects but very reluctant even to sing the songs for fear they might thus be transferred to the writer. The objects they said could be readily replaced without a grave breach with the power concerned, but, if the songs went, that was the end of it. We are convinced that the deliberate composing of new songs is going on at the present time. One individual asked the writer to let him hear songs from distant tribes. Having at hand such a phonographic record, his request was complied with. After several repetitions he was able to follow accurately and went away humming it over and over. Some time afterward he reluctantly admitted that he had now arranged words for this song and "expected to dream something."

There are many reasons why such dream experiences as we have considered are desirable to every Blackfoot man, and for that matter, women also, though the women take a far less active part in such activities. Consequently, such dreams are sought. Several individuals have told us in apparent good faith that they never had a dream that could be considered as in any way belonging to this class; one or two of them had sought the experience without success. The usual procedure where such experiences are sought is to go out to some lonely place and fast night and day until the dream comes. A youth is likely to be directed by a man of medicine experience and to be made the object of preliminary ceremonies to propitiate the dream, but he makes the journey alone. While at the chosen place the seeker of dreams or visions is expected to beseech all the things of the sky, earth, and water, to take pity on him. This call is a mournful wail almost like a song, the words being composed at will. The only object used is a filled pipe offered to all the beings addressed and kept in readiness for the manifestation of the dream person previously discussed. It is said that the majority of young men fail in this ordeal as an unreasonable fear usually comes down upon them the first night, causing them to abandon their post. Even old experienced men often find the trial more than they can bear. Men of medicine experience seldom resort to these tortures, as dreams of a satisfactory character are said to come to them in normal sleep. At present, the majority of men seems content to secure their charms and other medicines from those who do have dreams or from the large stock of such available for transfer. On the other hand, every man of consequence is supposed to have one experience in which he acquired a supernatural helper and received a song. Of this, he never speaks definitely, except to an intimate friend to whom he will say, "When I am about to die, you are to paint me and sing this song. Then I may recover."

This song is thus secret and never used except in the face of death. We were told by one man that in such an experience as gave a man one of these songs or rituals, the being manifest in the vision announces that he will give his body to the recipient and cause a small object to pass into the body of the recipient, which passes out again at death.

Many dreams are abortive. It is said a man dreaming at home is likely to be awakened before the transfer of power is complete and thus it will be lost. Men speak of such experiences as times when they "nearly acquired power." Theoretically, the greatest power, however, is that which comes



Fig. 8. A fasting Shelter upon the Summit of a Hill near Two Medicine River.

in a true vision, but practically, a ritual is always judged by its results. A fortunate long-lived man is so because of the strength of his personal and other medicines.

We saw one of the fasting and sleeping places used by a middle-aged man several years ago (Fig. 8). It was on the top of a hill somewhat off the beaten track and near a similar summit upon which were a number of burials. As seen in the figure it was of stone. It was built against an inclined slate-like strata from slabs of the same material. The entrance faced the east. The inside dimensions were about five feet by three and three in height, just large enough for a man to lie in with some comfort. The floor had been covered with cedar branches, and some of the same material spread over the top of the entrance. Near by were what appeared to be the remains

of a similar structure.<sup>1</sup> For reasons previously stated, though we knew who had used this shelter, we failed to get any information concerning what actually took place there.

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<sup>1</sup> On a rock near this shelter was an offering to the sun consisting of an old coat, a shirt tied to a stick, and a peculiar fan-shaped object of twigs distended by being bound to a hoop of the same material. On the projecting ends of the twigs were eagle feathers. This object was weighted down with a stone and joined to the other offerings by a cord. We were told that such fan like objects were often used when making sun offerings. A somewhat similar offering is shown on plate XIV, Maximilian's atlas.

Another view of this shelter was published in the *American Museum Journal*, Oct. 1906, Vol. VI, 208.

### III. MEDICINE BUNDLES.

Having now given some general aspects of the beliefs associated with rituals and their accessories we may take up the discussion of more elaborate rituals with their bundles. These it will be seen differ from the preceding only in their extent. While each is the exclusive property of its owner until transferred to another, there are what may be considered duplicates in the hands of other individuals; hence, we have given a definite section to each of the known types of bundles. We sought detailed information concerning at least one definite bundle of each type, but owing to the great difficulty in securing the songs and the great amount of time required for the satisfactory mastery of even one ritual, our data are far from complete. We believe, however, that it is sufficient to give a fair idea of the nature of each type.

By medicine bundle we mean any object or objects, kept in wrappings when not in use, guarded by the owner according to definite rules and associated with a ritual containing one or more songs. To the Blackfoot this is a definite term denoting an array of such associations, ranging from the simplest war charm to the huge complex beaver bundle. Single or individual ownership is the rule and though the tribe may in a sense have an interest in any large bundle, and relatives may have a property, or investment, relation to it, the fact remains that all the associations treated in this paper are considered by the Blackfoot as examples of rituals of individual ownership.

#### WAR BRIDLES.

The object shown in Fig. 9 is literally known as "a thing to tie on the halter". It was obtained among the Blood, but many bundles of this type were known to the other divisions. In use, it hangs under the bit of the horse and its formula gives protection and power against the enemy or buffalo in that it increases the sure-footedness and speed of the horse. A special form of quirt went with the bundle, but no specimens were seen. The feathers are the secondary part of the bundle, the vital element being found in seven small bags tied at intervals in the fringe. (This specimen now bears but three, the owner retaining the others.) These bags contain earth from where horses had pawed at the margin of a certain lake, taken as directed in the initial dream conferring the formula. There are many songs,

a number of which will be found on phonograph records 437-41. In rendering the songs, a bundle owner announced: "Give heed, give heed! This is holy, that I shall sing now. Holy and very good is this here I shall sing this day. I have been through it all. Now, these are all holy things. This horse medicine that I have here is very powerful. This is why I shall sing them, the war bridle." Some of the ideas expressed in the songs are, "My horse is powerful. My horse, he hears (understanding) me; good running, my horse. This here ground is powerful; he hears me; my horse; good



Fig. 9 (50-5412). A War Bridle, or Charm. Blood.

running; powerful. The flying ones (feathered creatures) are my medicine; I take them; this here (the bridle) my medicine is powerful." There are also several dance songs in the ritual.

The important characteristics of this type of bundle are brought out in the following narrative of Red-plume, recorded by Mr. Duvall:—

Horse medicine is considered very powerful. Should one who has not the right, sing the horse songs, his horse will fall with him and he will be injured. The owner of the horse medicine must never have a shin bone broken in his tipi, for if he does, his horse will break its leg. Those who have the power of the horse medicine can use it in many ways. It gives them luck in obtaining horses. If a horse should become exhausted while on the road, the owner of the medicine would give the horse some of it, put some into his nostrils, and rub it on his nose, his mane, and down his back to his tail. He then grasps the end of the tail and shakes it four times. The horse is then allowed to eat a little and is as strong as ever and will not again become exhausted.

When a horse has the colic the owner of the horse medicine brews some of

it and gives it to the horse. With it he then wets the breast and a spot near the kidneys. Finally, he rubs it on the nose, the mane, and the back to the tip of the tail which he shakes four times. After this he dips a willow switch into the medicine and makes three passes with it as if to whip the horse and with the fourth, whips him, the horse getting well at once.

Before a horse is run the rider sings a song to prevent it from falling. Sometimes, while on the warpath, if he is uneasy about getting horses, he will make a vow that he give the horse medicine owners a feast. When such a vow is made a horse is sure to be obtained. When inviting the horse medicine owners to the feast, the first one invited gives the host a few tail feathers and tells him to give one to each of the horse medicine owners invited. As soon as a horse medicineman receives a feather he knows at once that he is to attend a feast since this is the custom when the horse medicine ceremony is to be held. In most ceremonies invitations are shouted out by a herald, but in the horse medicine they must not even be spoken. In the dance the pledger carries a rope and whip making pawing motions with the hands.

At the beginning of the ceremony a smudge of sweet-grass is made (Fig. 10). The horse medicinemen with their wives are seated at the left of the tipi, leaving the right or guest side vacant. The only outsider allowed to partake in the ceremony is the man who made the vow to give the feast. About the close of the ceremony he dances and then serves the horse medicinemen with a berry soup. He is the only one who dances during this ceremony. All their medicine bundles, consisting of powders tied up in small buckskin bags are placed in a row in the rear of the tipi. Two red plumes are stuck in the corners of the smudge place while two black plumes stuck in opposite corners are their medicines. All those taking part in the ceremony have their own drums, some have horses painted on them, and some have horses' hoofs.<sup>1</sup> After the smudge

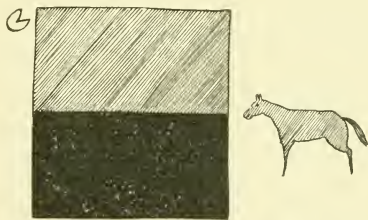


Fig. 10. The Incense Altar for the Horse Medicine. The altar is about one foot square, the horse track being at the northwest corner. The north half of the square is painted red, the south half black. The incense is burned on the image of a horse track. A plume is stuck in each corner of the square, black ones on the south and red ones on the north.

<sup>1</sup> We collected a fine example (50-4467) made of horse hide. On the inside is painted a horse's hoof. The outer edge of the head is painted black to represent the base of a tipi, it was said.

is made, the man sitting nearest the right of the tipi sings four of his songs, the others join him and he is followed by the man next to him. All present join in the singing. Each one sings four songs, thus ending the ceremony. The face of the man who made the vow is painted red. Before singing, each man prays that the one making the vow have luck in procuring horses during his lifetime, etc. After this, berry soup is served and the ceremony ends.

When a horse medicine owner wishes to cause a horse to lose a race it must be done without the knowledge of the owner. The horse is stolen the night before the race is to be run and the horse medicine owner sings, and rubs his powder on the hoofs and nose of the horse and turns it loose. Should he wish to win the race in another way he tells the rider on which side to run. If he wishes the doctored horse to fall he rubs some of the medicine on a switch which the rider uses. As the race starts, the rider lets the doctored horse lead for a while. He then crosses back and forth before the leading horse and throws the switch in front of it, causing it to fall. Thus, the other rider will pass him in the race. On the other hand, the horse may not be made to fall at all but make him unable to run past so his horse will win the race. The songs are: "My horse is going to run. May my horse run all right."

During the horse medicine ceremony no outsiders may be present. There are less than twenty horse medicinemen. Another way in which the horse medicinemen may exert their power is when running buffalo in the winter when the ground is icy and they use their power to prevent their horses from slipping on the ice. There is still another way to show their power. When a man wishes to go to war to steal horses he goes to one of the horse medicinemen with a pipe filled with tobacco and asks for help. The horse medicineman paints him and gives him a small buckskin bag containing powdered medicine, tells him how it is to be used, and what songs to sing. The man desiring the power does not paint until the war party is within sight of the enemy's camp. Then he paints his face as he was told, rubs his whole body and his rope with the medicine and ties it to his necklace. He then sings the songs of the horse medicine and tells what kind of horses he wishes. After one has been rubbed with the medicine any horse can be taken. If the rope is rubbed with the medicine he can never miss when throwing it. After a man is painted he must keep to one side of the warriors as they go towards the camp. He must not let anyone cross his tracks. If this does happen, the person doing it would at once become crippled in some manner. The one using the medicine usually drags his rope and never fails to procure a horse. During the trip a marrow bone must not be broken in the war lodge nor be heated by the fire while



he is in it. For catching a wild horse the formula is to carry some of the medicine and ride about the animal in a circle. As soon as the horse scents the medicine he will stand and permit himself to be taken.

One time two men who were known for their great horse medicine power decided to see which had the greater power. They, on their horses, ran a race over a frozen pond. Going at full speed, the two riders went along side by side, neither of the horses showing any signs of slipping. As they came to the edge of the ice, one man whipped the other horse causing him to slip a little, proving that he had a trifle more power than the other.

An Indian named White-man, who still lives, once crippled a buffalo through his horse medicine power. White-man and another man were running buffalo and as their horses were too slow to overtake the buffalo they were unable to get within shooting range of them. White-man thought of the horse medicine which he had the power to use. He told the man with him to ride off to one side of him as he was going to use the medicine. First he sang the horse song; then he put some prairie turnip in his mouth and spat on his whip. Following the tracks of the buffalo he crossed them three or four times and whipped them. As the herd of buffalo went out of sight into a coulée they followed them. When they came in sight of them at the foot of the coulée they saw a buffalo cow with a broken back trying to move away while dragging her hind part. They killed the cow and had some meat to take home. This was the result of the use of the horse medicine.

Since the horse medicine songs are among those for the medicine-pipe bundles, the medicine-pipe owner can use the horse medicine in the same way as White-man used it with the buffalo. As everyone knows the great power of the horse medicine songs, they are not sung for pastime. This is dangerous to the one singing them, for when he is riding, his horse will fall and he will be injured. Even the medicine-pipe owners often leave out these songs when they are singing of the pipe for pastime. Finally, the introduction of this formula into the medicine-pipe ritual is an important point.

#### WEASEL-TAIL SUITS.

A special decoration of weasel tails for men's shirts and leggings is regarded as a medicine bundle, those suits being transferred and cared for according to a definite ritual. The entire body of the purchaser is painted yellow and a red band marked across the eyes and mouth. A smudge of sweetgrass is made and the suit passed through the smoke. The purchaser puts it on. Then he dances with the seller on three bunches of sage grass, to the northeast, the southeast and the southwest of the fire, moving around

to the south and dancing the fourth time at the starting point. This practically ends the ceremony. From four to seven songs may be sung at this time. Formerly, these suits were worn to war and the songs belong to the war group. Drums are used in the ceremony.

According to one informant these suits were primarily for war and though formerly always transferred in accordance with the ritual are now given and sold quite freely. Yet, occasionally, the ceremony is carried out even at the present day.

A description of one of these shirts, with an illustration may be found in Vol. V, 120.

#### HAIR-LOCK SUITS.

The shirt and leggings with hair-locks, or the scalp shirt of the Dakota and other tribes, seem to have been an important bundle among the Black-foot. Its origin often forms a part of the Sear-face myth from one version of which we take the following:—

"The sun gave him a buckskin suit decorated with quills of porcupine. On the breast was a large disc and on the back another, representing the sun. There were bands of quills down the seams of the leggings and on the sleeves. These were fringed with hair-locks, representing the scalps of the cranes."

It is generally agreed that this suit was given as a reward for unusual bravery. It was presented by the sun and, hence, his songs enter into its ritual. The suit is precisely like the preceding (weasel-tail) except the addition of the hair-lock fringes. Their rituals are, however, not the same. Rattles and not drums are used. Before the transfer, a sweat house is made and the bundle containing the suit placed on the top. In the tipi a square is cleared for the smudge place and sprinkled with light colored earth. An eagle feather for the hair also accompanies the suit and this is used here to mark out figures of the sun, moon and morningstar in this earth. (See account of the sun dance bundle, 219). After the seventh song of the ritual a smudge of sweetgrass is made. With the next songs, the rattles are brought into play. The purchaser's face and body are painted with red paint and the eagle feather stuck up in his hair behind. The seller takes up the shirt, and making dancing motions while still on his knees, executes four passes at the smudge, then holds it to the purchaser's right shoulder, then to his back, the left shoulder, and the breast. The purchaser then takes the shirt in his hands. Presently, he hands it back to the seller, who makes passes at the smudge, then back to the purchaser's head and at the fourth, slips it on. As this is done, a great shout is raised

while the women cheer. Then some of his relatives bring up a horse and other property to pay the seller; as they do so, they sing and cheer the purchaser.

On the north side of the fire are four bunches of sage grass about one foot apart. The seller and the purchaser stand up. The former lifts the right foot of the latter towards the smudge, then toward the first bunch of sage grass and at the fourth movement the latter steps on the sage. All shout and cheer for him as he goes out, stepping from one bunch of sage to the other. This ends the transfer. It should be noted that there is no dancing.

The songs are numerous and are those known as the offering, or tail-feather songs. They are not peculiar to this ceremony but occur in sweat house proceedings, beaver rituals, natoas rituals, sun dance observances, all smoking ceremonies, black and yellow buffalo painted-tipis and perhaps some others. Some of these songs run, "Elk I want, feathers I want, black wolf I want, white wolf I want, beaver-colored buffalo robe I want." If the name is significant, the original use of these songs was in ceremonies where cloth and other objects are offered to the sun (p. 262).

While in recent years a type of decorated shirt familiar in the so-called scalp shirt of the Teton-Dakota has found its way over the Plains, we believe this distribution to be recent.<sup>1</sup> The Teton claim that among them, formerly there were but four decorated shirts of the hair-fringe type to be worn by the four head men of the tribe, but that in recent years it has become customary for anyone to wear them. However, they are still regarded as ceremonial in character, because even to-day when most of these shirts are made for sale to white collectors, a man will not undertake the construction of one without burning incense and complying with the old ritualistic obligations. So far, our only positive knowledge of the ceremonial, or medicine character of such shirts, comes from the Blackfoot and the Teton-Dakota. Among the former the weasel-tail shirt seems to predominate and to have been the first in origin. Since the ritualistic conception for the Blackfoot hair-fringe type is quite different from that of the weasel-tail type, it is reasonable to suppose that the two had distinct origins. The prominence of the hair-fringe shirt among the Dakota, on the other hand, suggests this type having passed indirectly from them to the Blackfoot who fitted it into their ritualistic scheme, thus making it a transferable medicine. These comments should not be construed as applying to shirts in general but only to this one type, bearing hair or weasel fringes.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. V, 135.

## HEADRESSES.

War-bonnets are spoken of as *saam*, medicine in the Indian sense. Of these, there were two general types, those with horns and those with feathers. The latter are of the familiar Plains type, a row of erect tail feathers around the head with strips of weasel fur hanging down. Those without tails are called "straight-up bonnets" and those with tails "straight-up bonnets with



Fig. 11. A Horn Bonnet, from a Piegan Drawing.

boss ribs." The feathers are tipped and the construction otherwise like that employed among the Dakota and elsewhere. The "horn bonnets" have no tail feathers, but bear a pair of horns and weasel fur fringes. Some of the horns are shaved thin and a specimen in the collection has horns cut from rawhide. One peculiar type has a single horn projecting from the front. The two distinct general types are shown in Piegan drawings, Figs. 11 and 12.

When a war-bonnet is to be transferred a sweat house is made and the bonnet in its rawhide bag placed on top of it. The hole in this sweat house is round and the dirt taken out of it is placed outside of the house on the west side. Lighter colored dirt is spread around the hole and towards the door. All the songs sung in this sweat house are bull society songs. The ashes from the pipe which is smoked are emptied on the southeast, southwest, northwest, and northeast side of the sweat house and the remainder are put in the bottom of the hole.

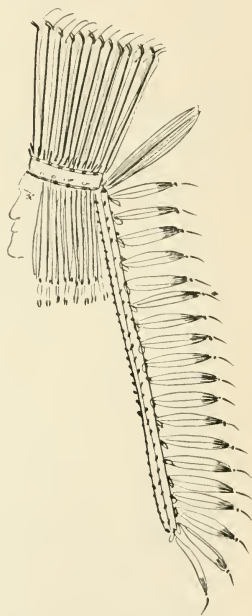


Fig. 12. A "straight-up" Head-dress, from a Piegan Drawing.

Four groups of four songs each are sung, between each of which the door is opened. At the fourth opening of the door curtain, the sweat house ceremony ends. Sweetgrass is used for the smudge in the sweat house.

When the men enter the tipi of the owner of the war-bonnet, he sits down on the right side near the rear, while the purchaser sits on the left side opposite him. The bonnet, still in its leather case, is tied to one of the lodge poles at the rear, over head. The smudge place is circular, about a foot and a half across; the grass is cleared away and lighter dirt spread over the smudge place and a row of buffalo dung and sage placed on the west side.

While the bonnet owner holds up some sweetgrass to make the smudge, he sings: "Above is powerful. The ground is powerful." Then he places the grass on the live coal and the bonnet, in its leather case, is taken down and placed on a blanket near the smudge place. Then as they sing another song the owner holds the purchaser's hand, and placing it on the bonnet, unties the cords and slowly pulls out the bonnet, stopping four times, while doing so. He sings, "Buffalo I take," and takes the bonnet out of its case. As the bonnet is still in its calico wrappings, another song is sung as follows: "Buffalo I have taken." As he removes the cloth from it, he shakes the bonnet, and the men all cheer the purchaser. In this ceremony four drums are used. Taking a cup of water and some white dirt, he sings the painting song: "The ground is our medicine." He takes some of the white dirt, dips his fingers into the cup of water, sings, "The water is my medicine," and then rubs the paint in his hands, scratches a cross on his painted hand and stamps this three times across his forehead. During the next song he paints the purchaser's face yellow with a red streak across the eyes and then the white cross spots across his forehead which are to represent the dirt on buffalo when they have been rolling in the mud. The wife of the purchaser is painted in the same way as her husband.

The two men and their wives wear buffalo robes with the hair side out, and white cross spots of paint stamped here and there on the robes. In the next song the owner goes through the motions of dancing, holding the bonnet in his hand. He bellows in imitation of a buffalo bull. He holds the bonnet in front of him, to his forehead, each side of his head, at the back of his head, puts it on and bellows, going through motions of hooking. He sings: "Man, I want to hook," and takes off the bonnet. As he goes through running motions with his hands, he sings: "The ground is our medicine." This refers to the buffalo running on the earth. Another song, and he passes the bonnet four times to the smudge place, holds it against the purchaser's left shoulder, his right shoulder, his back, his breast, and then places it on his head. All those in the tipi shout and cheer the purchaser. The two men then make movements as if hooking at each other.

Now the bonnet is given to the wives of the two men who go through the same performances with it as the men. When the women have completed their part in the ceremony, the purchaser puts on the bonnet, and he and the owner rise. Four bunches of sage grass are placed about a foot apart on the north of the fireplace. The purchaser's right foot is passed toward the smudge four times and then placed on the first bunch of sage grass. Then he walks on all four bunches of sage grass. The two men dance in place on the north of the fireplace, all the spectators shouting and cheering them. They then dance successively in the same manner at the east, south, and west of the fireplace and take their places, thus ending the transfer of the war-bonnet.

When the bonnet is not in use it is kept in a cylindrical leather case and hung on a tripod and kept out on the west side of the tipi. A smudge is made for it three times every day. There are many songs for the war-bonnet, mostly war songs.

Some of the taboos connected with the war-bonnet are as follows: A buffalo head must never be broken in the tipi, nor may any part of the head be thrown into the fire. The owner of the bonnet must not allow anyone to pass in front of him while in the tipi. Should anyone do so he would become blind.

It is said that a bonnet was transferred to Big-brave, an informant, who paid a horse for it. Not long after he received it, he wore the bonnet in a battle and through its power escaped many bullets and arrows and was unharmed.

An important point is the general belief that all these types of headdresses were once exclusively the regalia of members of the bull society. The songs used are said to be from the ritual of that organization. It is said that when the society ceased to exist the regalia was still transferred from person to person, the ritual and songs of the society being used. Thus, in a way, the ritual of the order is still in existence. We collected some phonographic records (nos. 414, 431-2) of the songs:—

That above, Mau, he hears me.

It is sun.

That below, he hears me.

I want to sit there.

My medicine (bonnet), it is powerful.

Buffalo, he says, on the ground I am looking around for a place to sit.

It is powerful.

It is powerful, where he sits.

The first is the smudge song and a buffalo is supposed to be singing. In the second, the headdress is held up as if it were a buffalo's head, moved about in keeping with the song and then put down.



## SHIELDS.

While shields had some practical value, no doubt, they were nevertheless medicine objects and treated as bundles. Their rituals were composed of songs and certain definite manipulations. The decorations were symbolic and offered a means of classification, first, in that one type had such designs upon the shield itself while others bore them upon a buckskin cover. The belief seems to be that those with a design cover were acquired from other tribes, chiefly the Crow, while those painted directly upon the rawhide were the older and original type acquired before the introduction of horses. Naturally, there is no direct evidence on these points. Of those regarded as Blackfoot in origin the designs represent either the buffalo, the sun, the moon, or stars. There were, perhaps, exceptions to this, but they have not so far come to notice. Feathers and parts of animals were sometimes fastened to appropriate parts of the design.<sup>1</sup>

As with all medicines, shield rituals must be formally transferred. In general, a smudge is made with sweetgrass, the shield passed through the smoke four times, and placed upon a blanket at the rear of the tipi. There the purchaser is painted; usually a yellow ground over the face and hands, which is streaked by drawing the finger tips downward, and a red transverse band across the mouth and the eyes. Special songs are sung at this time and four drums used. The seller then takes up the shield and pretends to be dodging about to avoid blows, as in a fight. The purchaser then steps into the looped carrying strap and draws it up to his neck, the shield hanging on his back, the conventional way of carrying it. The purchaser and seller then dance while the others sing, shout and make all the noise they can. In the dance, they proceed around in the tipi to the right, pausing and dancing at four points: on the south, on each side of the door, and on the north. As a rule, sweat houses are not used. The purchase price is a horse, with blankets, etc.

A shield secured from the Crow is represented in a native drawing (Fig. 13d). The design is upon a buckskin covering. The ritual was conferred in a dream by a hawk whose likeness appears in the drawing. The marks above probably represent clouds and the waved lines, lightning, strongly suggesting motives seen on some Dakota shields. The outer cover is undecorated. A lance goes with the shield and is placed as shown in the

<sup>1</sup> For notes on the structure, size, etc. see Vol. 5, 162. That there is some historical basis to the belief that many shields came from the Crow is suggested by the following: "We saw the Blackfeet ride to battle half naked, but some, too, in their finest dresses, with the beautifully ornamented shield obtained from the Crows, and their splendid crowns of feathers, and, on these occasions, they all have their medicines or amulets, open and hung about them."—Maximilian, 117.



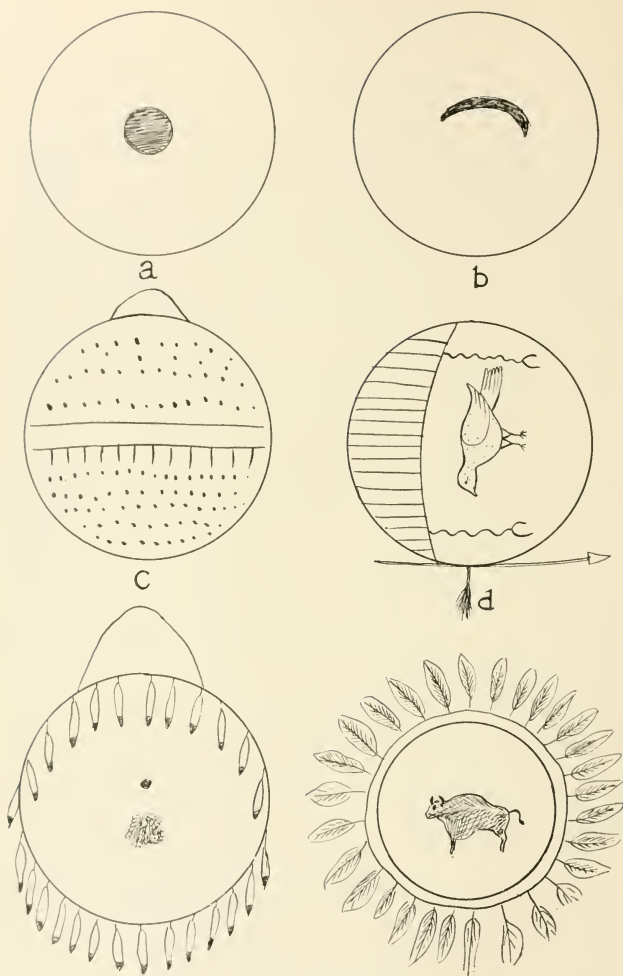


Fig. 13. Drawings of Shields by Piegan Indians: *a* A red ground with a blue center, the sun *b* a red ground with a crescent moon in blue; *c* the cover of the Never-sits-down-shield, red dots for stars and a transverse fringe of buckskin; *d* the cover of a Crow shield, a hawk, clouds, and thunder with a lance and buffalo tail at the bottom; *e* the shield used with the cover *c*, unpainted, a bunch of feathers at the center and a bullet hole above; *f* a red ground with figure of a buffalo. All the shields are bordered with feathers whether shown in the sketches or not.

sketch. A buffalo tail is tied on at the bottom. When suspended, the relative positions are as drawn. In addition, the bundle contains a small headdress of feathers and sweetgrass for the smudge. During the day, the shield bundle is tied to the end of a tipi pole which is leaned against the rear of the tipi bringing the bundle above the crossing of the regular poles. The ritual contains seven songs. In the transfer, a smudge is made with sweetgrass and the purchaser painted over body and face with white paint. His hair is brushed to the left side of his head and the headdress is tied on (Fig. 14). This is suggestive of a Crow style and is consistent with the asserted origin of the shield. The face is then marked with black as shown in the drawing. The shield hangs from the lance, thrust into the earth at the rear of the tipi. The purchaser and the seller dance while others drum and sing the songs. The latter dances with the shield and pretends to be dodging arrows. Two horses are brought up and the two men ride around the camps together. The front and hind quarters of the purchaser's horse are painted with white earth. This ends the transfer. The fees are a horse, blankets, and clothing.

The oldest and most renowned shield bundle is the Never-sits-down shield. The traditions are that it was given long before horses were known. A Piegan, named Curly-bear, owned the shield and out of great personal regard gave it to a wealthy white man named Charles Conrad. At the latter's death, the shield was returned to Curly-bear who later transferred it to a Blood Indian named Many-mules.

The shield is of two buffalo rawhides, firmly glued together. It is decorated with feathers as in Fig. 13c. The face is not painted but entirely plain. At the center is tied a bunch of many different kinds of feathers; this is to be used in war as a headdress and considered a very powerful medicine. The dot in the drawing represents the hole made by a ball that passed through the first layer but not the second and is still in the shield. No one seems to know how or when this was done.<sup>1</sup> There is a single cover but curiously it bears symbolic decorations on the outside. Fig. 13c represents the shield as it hangs on its tripod. The cover is of black-tailed deer and across its middle a narrow fringed band of the same. When a cover wears out a new one is made and the old one hung in a tree as an offering to the sun. Over all are dots of red representing stars. The tripod and the



Fig. 14 An Indian Drawing, showing Face Painting and Hair Dress for Shield. Fig. 13d.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 13e (shield) was drawn by Heavy-runner son of its former owner. Fig. 13c was drawn by Mrs. Heavy-runner.

strap are painted red. It is kept in the tipi at night but taken out each morning before sunrise and set up with its tripod on the west of the tipi, so hung that the first rays of the sun will fall upon the painted cover. At noon, again, it is turned more towards the sun and later to face the west. After sunset, it is returned to the tipi by the north side, thus having made a sunwise circuit, and fastened to a tipi pole at the rear.

No dogs must enter the owner's tipi. Should the shield fall down the owner must make a sweat house at once. To this ceremony some old men are invited. The hole in the sweat house is circular. The men enter, but the shield is placed on top. On returning to the tipi these men sing the five songs in the ritual and offer prayers to prevent the ills believed to follow such an event. Should the owner kill a spider, his entire body will be covered with spiders and he be stung to death. He must not put the loop over the head but always draw it up over the feet.

The smudge place is rectangular, about one foot by two. The grass is cleared off at the natural earth surface and light colored earth spread over all. On the western, or rear, edge of this altar is a row of four buffalo chips and on these some sage grass. The smudge is made with parsnip root at about the center of the altar. The soft earth is kept smooth, but at any time should there appear small horse tracks the owner will soon acquire horses; small human footprints, enemies will be killed.

We published a version of the origin myth for this shield.<sup>1</sup> To this may be added the following narrative by Heavy-runner:—

Once a Northern Blackfoot was sleeping by the watering place of buffalo. In a dream, a young man appeared wearing a buffalo robe, hair side out, with head and horns still attached. He said, "My son, I give you my shield. You must never run from enemies nor dodge with it. It will be of great use to you. The name of it is 'Never-sits-down shield.'" Then he explained the whole ritual. Now, this young man was a buffalo bull. The man having the dream was the oldest of seven brothers. When he returned, he offered to make up the shield for any of them, but all refused save the youngest.

When the first owner of the shield was transferring it to his brother he first tested its power. He placed the shield on the ground covering it with a robe. When he took the robe off, spiders and worms were crawling all over the shield. Then he said to his brother, "Do you see all the spiders on the shield? You must never kill spiders, if you do, they will come out all over your body just as you see them there, and will kill you." Then the shield was fastened to the rear lodge pole inside of the tipi. The owner

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, 102.

of the shield and his wife sat on the left side of it, near the rear of the tipi, while his brother and his wife sat on the right side opposite them. After the smudge place had been made and the two men been to the sweat house, the seller painted his brother's body and face with red paint which was streaked with the fingers. Four men with drums were present. A large wooden bowl filled with water mixed with paint was placed between the smudge place and the fire. The two men and the two women wore buffalo robes with the hair side out. A bunch of feathers was then fastened to the purchaser's hair. The purchaser and his wife and the seller and his wife were seated on opposite sides with the wooden bowl between them. As the four drummers commenced to sing the four faced each other and went through motions as if to butt each other away from the bowl of water. Each of the four drank of the water until none was left. A smudge of large turnip was made and the shield taken down. Making four passes over the smudge with the shield the seller threw it down. The purchaser then made four passes at the loop of the shield, the seller meanwhile holding one of his legs. The former then stepped into the loop and slipped the shield up over his shoulders until it rested on his back. The two then danced, first about the rear of the tipi, and then successively to the north, east, and south of the fire. This ended the transferring of the shield. There are five or more songs for this shield.

He then told his brother about the shield, telling him that it should be taken out of the tipi every day before sunrise. This man had the shield during many battles which he usually won, and killed many enemies, and captured many weapons and soon became chief of his people. The owner of the shield always left word that it could be used in case they were attacked by the enemy. One time a great number of Assiniboine attacked the Blackfoot. The man's chum painted himself, took the shield and fought bravely, killing a great number of the Assiniboine, and finally driving them away. It was the great power of the shield which made it possible for the Blackfoot to overcome their enemies. This shield has proven itself very powerful to those who have owned it, many having become chiefs through it. The fees for this used to be one or two horses, and a few valuable robes or blankets. Nowadays, more is paid for it. The shield came from the Northern Blackfoot in the first place, was some time among the Piegan, and is now owned by a Blood Indian.

As the foregoing suggests, all shields are considered medicine bundles and have many ritualistic features in common. An informant states that all shield songs are buffalo bull songs, but not in any way connected with the bull society.

So far, we have been able to collect but one buffalo hide shield among

the Blackfoot and there is another in the Museum collected by George Bird Grinnell. The latter is shown in Fig. 15. We have no information with this specimen but note on one side what seem to be the seven stars or the great dipper and on the other the symbol of the Pleiades or bunched stars.

The shield in Fig. 16 was obtained from a North Blackfoot who had failed to learn the ritual after its transfer to him. It was recognized as

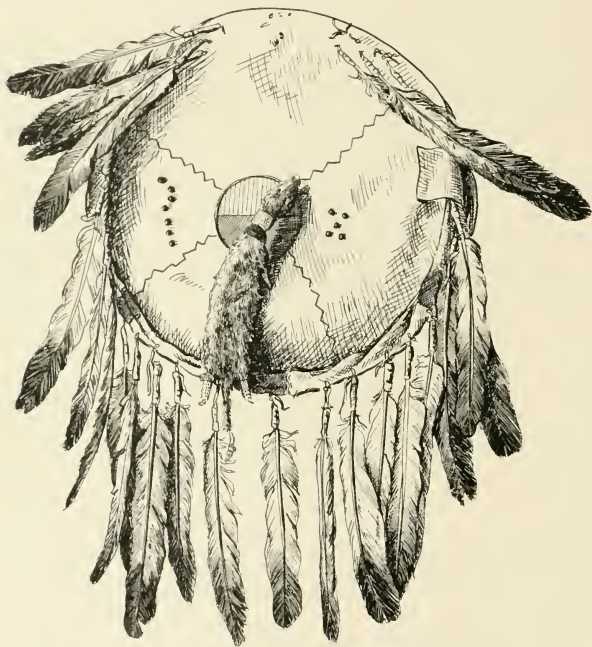


Fig. 15. A buffalo hide Shield owned by George Bird Grinnell.

being one of the three medicine shields referred to in the myth.<sup>1</sup> So far, we have not been able to get the details of its ritual.

For further comparison we collected a number of drawings made by men formerly owning shields. Fig. 17 represents one formerly owned by Big-brave bearing representations of a buffalo bull and a cow. In a line above

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, 99.

the two buffalo is a series of buffalo hoofs, while below are seven lines of buffalo track symbols. The rectangular figures above and below the buffalo skull are intended to represent ornaments of variously colored cloth. Seven songs belong to the ritual of this shield. The original is in colors.

Another shield by the same individual is represented in Fig. 18, a large central area is in red representing the sun, while the crescent above represents the moon, the cross-like extensions radiating from the center represent the rays of the sun. This shield, like all others, originated in a dream



Fig. 16 (50-5760). A buffalo hide Shield from the Northern Blackfoot.

In Fig. 13a is a simple but very common shield design in which the central colored area represents the sun or some other heavenly body. In Fig. 13b is the corresponding form in which the central figure represents the moon. In Fig. 13f we have a drawing representing the simpler type of buffalo shield.



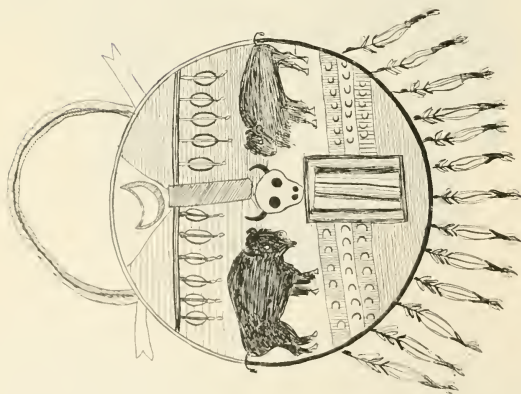


Fig. 17. An Indian Drawing of a Shield by Big-brave.

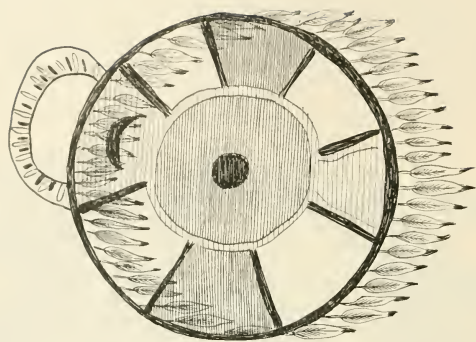


Fig. 18. An Indian Drawing of a Shield by Big-brave



The apparent wide distribution of the Plains type of shield has been noted in the Handbook of American Indians, whence it is natural to assume that the subjective or esoteric characters are about equally distributed. So far as our positive knowledge goes, the designs have dream or vision origins among the Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Assiniboiné, Crow, Hidatsa, Teton-Dakota, and Kiowa. Data on pueblo shields reported by Dr. Spinden suggest a different conception in that area in so far as the origins of the designs are concerned. On the other hand, the statement of Mr. Mooney to the effect that throughout the Plains area we find shields with like dream origins, similar taboos, and uniformity in the use of incense as well as songs may be taken as correct in so far as it applies definitely to the tribes named above. This similarity also extends to the peculiar method of supporting the shield during the day upon a tripod outside of the tipi and the tendency to change its position in keeping with the movements of the sun so that its face should always be in the direct sunlight. We feel that the distribution of the simple objective, or physical characters of shields is far less significant and important than the peculiar associated distribution of these more subjective aspects. Thus, the presence of the supernatural design origin, the observances and practices required by the shield ritual among the several Plains tribes using the shield, suggests a common origin on the one hand, and a wholesale adoption on the other. In a previous paper,<sup>1</sup> it was noted that among the Teton-Dakota it was the power of the shield represented by the protective design upon it or its cover to which the Indian looked for protection rather than to the mechanical properties of the rawhide disc. A similar conception seems to prevail among the Blackfoot. While this apparent disregard of the mechanical properties of the shield may be explained as a change of attitude brought about by the introduction of superior weapons, as noted by Clark,<sup>2</sup> it seems to us more likely that the Indian originally placed his chief faith in the power of the design. This is certainly consistent with the other facts of Plains culture.

So far, we have not found associated with the shields of other tribes anything like the Blackfoot transfer. It is reasonable to assume that when the shield and its ritual came into Blackfoot life it was adapted to the transfer, or to the ceremonial scheme of the tribe.

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. 1, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Clark, 336

## OTTER BUNDLES.

There are two similar bundles among the Piegan each containing as the chief object the skin of an otter. This bundle is often spoken of as the smoking-otter, or the otter with which smoking must be properly attended to. The usual name, however, is "the-rattling-smoking thing," referring to a requirement that whenever the owner smokes, a rattling noise must be made with a metal object. These medicines are regarded as very old but are now of minor importance. The narrative of their origin<sup>1</sup> is a version of a well known Dakota myth.

We collected two other versions of this myth in one of which two Sarsi went east with some white men while in the other it was a Piegan. In each, they went on a boat to an island, but then to heaven, where the ritual came from God. The version previously published was given by an old Piegan who owned one of the bundles and may be assumed the most authentic. In that narrative we are told that, "Whenever the owner of this medicine begins to smoke, he shakes the bells on the otter four times. Then he takes some smoke, blows it into the hollow of his hand, and rubs it on the otterskin. Then he blows one handful to the otter, one to the bells, one to the owner's heart, and one to the ground. This last is because the otter runs on the ground. There is power in this, because the otter is supposed to have long life."<sup>2</sup>

One of the unpublished versions runs: when the Indian had returned, he made up the smoking-otter bundle. Later, his brother requested it, so he transferred it to him. Yet he made up another one smaller than the first. The latter is the female, the former the male. Thus it came about that there were two otter bundles. Now a few years ago, the owner of the smoking-otter got a new otterskin and in a ceremony changed the old otterskin by placing the bells and other things on the new skin. A white man who is still living asked for the old skin, saying that he wished to use it as a bag. It was given to him and he got some bells and made up another smoking-otter and later transferred it to another man. There are now three smoking-otters here. They were all transferred in the same way with the same songs. The smoking-otter is very powerful and was formerly much used in battle and on the warpath. The owners seldom fail to have dreams through the bundle. There are four or more war songs among those used with the smoking-otter. Some of the words are: "Wind is our medicine. Rain is our medicine. The water is our medicine and our body."

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, 98.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 2, 99.

The following rather full account of the transfer gives the ritual and other points of interest as narrated by Big-brave, a Piegan:—

A sweat house is made. Grass is placed around the inside; at the rear a bunch of the grass is placed. On this is placed the smoking-otter. The hole is round. A hollowed pile of dirt is placed on the east and west side of the hole and circles drawn around them with the fingers. On top of each heap of dirt a smudge is made with creeping juniper seed (Fig. 19).

When the rocks are sufficiently heated, the owner wearing his robe, on his back the smoking-otter, and carrying the smudge stick and seeds, slowly approaches the sweat house while singing. When he reaches it, he goes around it once to his right and enters. He seats himself near the rear at the right, and places the smoking-otter on the grass at the rear. After he has said a prayer over a pipe which is handed in, he lights it and all smoke. When the pipe is burnt out the ashes are emptied on the east,

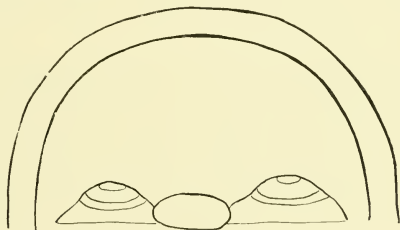


Fig. 19. Plan of the Sweat House for the Smoking-otter Bundle, from an Indian Drawing.

southwest, and north side of the hole and the remainder in the bottom of it.

Some live coals are placed on the two piles of dirt and while singing the smudge song he holds up some of the seeds with one hand. The song runs as follows: "The above is powerful. The ground is our medicine." Then he places some of the juniper on each smudge place. After passing the smoking-otter around his waist it is passed out through the west of the sweat house and placed on top of it with the head towards the east. Five heated stones are brought in and placed at each corner of the hole and one in the bottom. He makes another smudge, placing some of the seed on each of the five rocks. Then they are all thrown into the hole and the rest brought in. Another smudge is made on the pile of stones in the hole. Some of the seed is placed at the four corners while some is put on the center of the pile of rocks. The curtains are pulled down and after dipping a bunch of grass in water, he sprinkles the stones seven times. He sings and a man on the

outside shakes the seven bells on the otter four times. As there are usually five or six men in the sweat house, each man takes his turn at praying while the others sing. There are seven songs in all. The covers of the door are raised seven times and the ceremony is ended. When it is raised in the beginning of the ceremony, they all look out and say: "We are looking at the green grass, leaves, and berries." This is said if the ceremony is held during the winter, but should it be held in the summer time, they say: "We are looking at the snow." This means that they will all live to see the next winter.

After the sweat house ceremony, the men go to the tipi where the transfer is to take place. The owner enters and seats himself on the right near the rear of the tipi. The purchaser sits on the left, with his wife and the seller's wife to his right. The smoking-otter is tied to one of the poles at the rear. The smudge place is a hollow round heap of dirt, about a foot and a half across, somewhat similar to the one made in the sweat house. The smudge of juniper is placed at the top. This smudge represents the hole in the ice made by the otters.

At first a berry soup is served. All those present first hold up a berry and pray to it before eating the soup. There are usually quite a number of people in the tipi during the ceremony. Four drums are used. After the soup has been eaten, the otter is taken from the tipi pole and placed on some grass while some of the grass is placed over the otter's back as though he were alive. The grass and otterskin are at the rear between the smudge and the tipi wall. The owner hands the smudge stick to one of the men to get a live coal, which is then placed on the heaped smudge place and, taking some of the juniper berries, he sings: "The above are powerful. The ground is powerful and is our medicine," and places some of the juniper on the coal.

First holding one of the drums over the smudge he strikes the edge on the southeast corner, on the southwest, the northwest, and the northeast corner of the smudge. He hands the drum to one of the four men who is to use it. Two cups of water are placed near the purchaser and the seller of the smoking-otter. As they begin to sing, the owner blows on his bone whistle. At the same time he dips his hand into the cup of water and brushes his head with his wet hand and then places his hand on his heart. The purchaser repeats the same movements. A song for the paint is sung as he takes the yellow paint in his hand and mixes some water with it and sings: "The water is our medicine," and then paints the buyer's face and entire body with the yellow paint, and a streak of red across the eyes and mouth.

During the next song one of the men goes out with a rifle which is fired when the otter is taken from its grass bed. The shooting represents the

shooting at otters when they are seen coming up in the water. As the otter is taken up, the man blows four times on his bone whistle. This is supposed to represent the whistle of the otter. The spectators shout and make all the noise possible when the shooting is done. The gun used in the shooting is part of the fee paid for the smoking-otter.

The owner passes the smoking-otter around his waist under his blanket, then over the smudge four times. Then he holds it to the purchaser's left shoulder, his back, his right shoulder and against his breast. The purchaser receives it and holding it in his arms like a child, prays to it. He returns it to the owner and as he receives the otter he goes through the movements of a dance, still keeping his seat. All the persons in the tipi place their robes in front of them covering their legs.

The next song is: "Waves are my medicine. Water is our medicine." He passes the otter to the first person sitting to his left under the cover. The otter is passed under the robes or blankets around the entire tipi until it reaches the owner again. This passing of the otter under the robes represents the otter swimming under the water. The owner now takes the otter again and sings: "Above is our medicine." This refers to the seven stars which the seven bells tied around the otter's neck are supposed to represent. Then he dips his fingers into the cup of water and sings: "Water is our medicine," and places his hand on his head and on his breast, the purchaser repeating the same motions with his cup of water.

The owner passes the otter to the smudge four times and as it has a looped carrying strap made of a red scarf he places the loop over the buyer's head and shoulders and leaves the otter hanging on the purchaser's back with the head at his left side. After, it is removed from the purchaser's back and put on his wife in the same manner by the owner's wife. Then it is placed on its bed of grass curled up as if it were alive. He takes a pipe which has been filled and holding it with both hands with the bowl towards his left and the mouthpiece towards his right and turning the pipe about four times, he holds it to the purchaser's mouth four times, barely touching his lips with the pipestem. At the fourth time the purchaser draws four times on the pipe. Meanwhile the spectators shout and cheer for the purchaser. The owner then lights the pipe and hands it to the purchaser. He blows some of the smoke in his left hand which he places on the ground and to his heart. Then he blows some smoke in his right hand, brushes his head with it and places his hand to his breast. He blows more smoke in his right hand and rubs the otter's head with it and then into his left hand and rubs the seven bells which are tied to the smoking-otter's neck. As he is smoking the pipe the owner shakes the bells on the otter's neck for him four times and again the crowd shouts and cheers the buyer. The words of the song referring to this are: "My smoke is powerful."

During the next song the bone whistle, which has a neck string tied to it, is transferred to the buyer. It is passed four times to the smudge and then placed over the man's head and hung on his neck. Then it is held to his lips four times, thus ending the transfer of the whistle.

The words of the next song are: "Those above are our medicine." (This refers to the seven stars.) "The ground is our medicine. The water is our medicine." Then he mixes some paint and water and paints the buyer's white blanket with many red spots. He also paints a spot on his left wrist and on the joint of the arm. He does the same on his right arm joint and wrist and both shoulders and on both sides of his breast. His leggings, also, are painted red.

The ceremony ends for a time and continues in the evening when the songs are learned.

The purchaser's face is painted with yellow, a yellow spot on his forehead and on either cheek. A scratch is made across each spot with the fingers in representation of the crack in the bells on the otter's neck.

After the evening ceremony the new owner is put to bed with the otter placed on his breast. He must not move but must remain in the same position through the night. The next morning the former owner awakens him, takes the smoking-otter and places it on the grass near the smudge place. The evening ceremony continues four nights. Every night the new owner is put to bed as on the first. The smoking-otter is very powerful; when men are asleep with it they can feel it crawling around on their body.

There are forty-nine songs which are sung in groups of seven. The new owner is painted with yellow spots. These spots of yellow are scratched across first in the painter's hand and then stamped on. The cross is to represent the cracks made in the bells which are on the otterskin. The new owner's horse is painted with red paint to represent the tracks of the otter eagle claws (zigzag lines between two horseshoes), and hailstones (circles). Sometimes the horse is painted with many dots of red on the head, neck, and shoulders, and on his hips. The otter is either carried on this horse or else the owner rides on the horse and carries the otter on his back. The horse is painted on both sides.

After the horse is painted, the otter is placed outside the tipi on a tripod. When he wishes to move camp, he puts the otter on his back, a smudge is made outside near the tripod and the former owner makes four passes to the smudge and to his stirrup and mounts his horse. The owner's and his wife's white blankets are painted in red with seven rows of red dots, seven in each row. These represent the seven bells on the otter's neck.

The taboos for the new owner of the smoking-otter are as follows: he must never sit on the bare ground nor must he smoke while any moccasins



are hanging over head. When he begins to smoke someone must tap on a steel four times for him while he smokes, or if there is no steel about the place, a knife may be used to tap four times on a tobacco board. Sometimes, as he usually has a triangular or an egg-shaped steel, one of these is tapped four times against the knife.

The owner's horse is painted for use in war. When the rider is about to ride to the battlefield he sings: "My horse runs well. May he run all right. Now I am going to run. The ground is my medicine. It is powerful."

The owner of the smoking-otter always places the bundle on a tripod outside on the west side, the woman usually taking it out in the morning and going around to the south of her tipi. In the evening she brings it in by the north side. She makes a smudge four times a day, in the morning, at noon, in the evening, and at bed time. The woman holds both hands over the smudge and places her hands to both of her ears, one hand to her mouth and nose, one hand to her heart, and brushes her shoulders and arms down after holding her hands over the smudge. This is done each time she makes a smudge. Formerly, the owners of the smoking-otter kept a brass button in their mouths while smoking, but this is not done at present. They still blow some of the smoke in their hands and then put their hands to their breasts, the ground and to the head, just as is done in the first part of the transfer ceremony.

A Piegan kept an otterskin which was during the day supported by a vertical pole, we were unable to learn anything of its ritual and origin. We have no reason for assuming that this was similar to the two bundles just mentioned, but note it here as a matter of record.

According to New-breast when medicine bundle owners assemble in a tipi the owner of the smoking-otter takes the highest seat, but except for this he seems not to have enjoyed particular honor.

#### BEAR KNIFE.

A bundle now on the verge of extinction is the bear knife. There must have been many of these, since we met men on several reservations who had the ritual but who had ceased to care for the bundle. The chief object was a large dagger-like knife to the handle of which was attached the jaws of a bear. Maximilian mentions a similar knife and figures one, apparently seen among the Gros Ventre.<sup>1</sup> We did not collect one of these bundles but did secure a pair of armlets for the owner's ceremonial use (50-5425).



A part of the narrative published in our series<sup>1</sup> gives the reputed mythical basis for the ritual. Few of these bundles remain. One reason given for the decline of this ritual was the brutality of its transfer, the passing of the old life having almost eliminated the torture feature in ceremonial practices. Even in former times few men willingly took the bear knife, but were "caught," a method of forced transfer fully discussed in connection with the medicine-pipe. As implied in the narrative the recipient must catch the knife thrown violently at him and is also cast naked upon thorns and held there while painted and beaten thoroughly with the flat of the knife.

A Piegan, named Black-bear had one of these bundles transferred to him about forty years ago. His account of the proceeding is about as follows:—Before the bear knife could be transferred to him he had to make seven sweat houses for the owner of the knife on seven different days. The hole in the sweat house was cut round and the dirt piled on the west side of it. At first seven rocks were heated and placed on the north, or right, of the door in a line about six inches apart. The heap of dirt and the rocks were to be used for making the smudge. Parsnip roots were used for making the smudge and the ordinary sweat house songs were sung. The former owner of the knife entered the sweat house backwards. A pipe with the mouth-piece painted red was given to the owner who prayed to it and smoked it. All this time the bear knife was still in its bundle on top of the sweat house. During each sweat house ceremony the owner painted his face red with streaks of black across his eyes and at the sides of his mouth. The black marks were made with black powder. The red paint (seventh paint) was scratched with the fingers. The black marks were to represent the bear's teeth. The owner wore a painted buffalo robe with the hair part out, at each of the seven sweat houses made for him. When the owner was dressed and painted, he would sit in his own tipi waiting for the sweat house to be made ready. An attendant would notify him by kicking one of the tipi poles on the west side. When he heard the first kick on the pole he would make the noise of a bear. Then they would kick again, and again he would make the noise of a bear. At the fourth kick he ran as fast as he could toward the sweat house.

When in the sweat house the owner took some of the parsnip root and as he held it up sang: "The earth is my medicine." Then he put some of it on each of the seven heated rocks and the remainder on the pile of dirt near the hole. He threw water on the stones fourteen times.

After the seven sweat houses had been made the real transfer of the

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, 95.

knife began. At first some rose bushes or thorns were stuck in a row close together near the rear of the tipi. The owner sat on the left and the buyer on the right of the thorns. Some red paint and gunpowder mixed with water were put into cups, placed near the owner. Then a smudge was made with parsnip root near the bushes. The two men were naked. When Black-bear was getting this knife there were many men in the tipi. Seven drums were used. When the singing began all those in the tipi made all the noise possible, shouting and shaking all the tipi poles.

The owner moved about in his seat as a bear does, moving backward and forward. When the owner was about to paint the purchaser, seven men stood outside of the tipi each with a gun. The owner sprang upon the purchaser, threw him on the thorns and painted him. At the same time the guns were fired. The owner turned the purchaser first on one side and then on the other while painting him, holding him against the thorns all the time. The shooting of the guns is to represent shooting at bears when they are in the brush.

After the man had been painted with the seventh paint, scratched down with the fingers, and the marks with gunpowder made over the eyes and mouth, another smudge was made. The knife, still in its wrappings, was passed four times over the smudge and taken out of its coverings. The owner, holding the knife in his right hand, went through the motions of stabbing. Meanwhile, singing and drumming was going on. The owner again threw the purchaser on the thorns and slapped him on the breast with the flat of the bear knife, turned him over, and slapped him on the back. The two men crawled along on hands and knees to the north side of the fireplace where the owner again sprang on the purchaser and again slapped him on the breast and back with the knife. They crawled to the west side and he repeated the same movements. Thus the purchaser became the owner of the bear knife.

He further stated that he was not required to catch the thrown knife, though such was the rule. His horse was painted after the transfer. The tail, mane, forelock, and a stripe on the back were in red. The sides were marked by several red imprints of hands. The four succeeding evenings were spent in rehearsing the songs. Immediately following this, the owner slept out in the hills with the bundle for four to seven nights, or until he dreamed about it.

The owner wears his robe with the hair side out, paints it red and paints his face the bear way. He must never turn back from the enemy, but go directly forward singing songs from the ritual, take an enemy by the hair and stab him. He can use no other weapon. Dogs must not come inside while the owner is there and no one should strike on iron while he is smoking.

During the summer the knife is kept unwrapped and fastened to one of the tipi poles inside near the owner's seat, that it may be at hand when needed. Late in the fall, it is taken down and placed in its bundle where it remains until spring, thus imitating the bear. During this time, the bundle is suspended on a tripod behind the tipi through the day. A smudge of parsnip root is made three times daily.

Both sides of the knife-blade are painted with the seventh paint and a zigzag of blue. Its power was thought to be very great, so great that its owner was seldom killed, for its appearance frightened everyone into submission, after the manner of bears. There are many songs in the ritual; all war songs, since the bear is a fighting animal.

The bundle is supposed to have originated with the Sarsi.

#### MEDICINE LANCE.

Among the Piegan there is a bundle containing a spear as the principal object. The shaft is something less than three feet in length and carries a long knife-like blade of iron. The bundle is made up by wrapping the shaft, but leaving the blade exposed. In the bundle are bunches of feathers and bells to be tied on the shaft for the demonstration of the ritual. Also, the skin of a small red-winged bird to be worn on the head of the owner when on the warpath and a small pipe for use in the ceremony. Contrary to the usual custom this bundle is kept outside the tipi at all hours and in all weathers, supported on a tipi pole near its middle and parallel to it which leans against the back of the tipi. The point of the lance is upward and kept coated with red paint to symbolize blood.

We secured no narrative of origin for this bundle and very little of the ritual. It was said to have originated in the conventional dream. In four of the songs the sentiments were respectively:—

My spear is medicine.  
The red winged bird is medicine.  
The feather, I want it.  
My tipi is medicine.

As usual, the bundle is unwrapped as the ritual proceeds. The painting of the owner at the beginning of the ceremony is as follows:— the face, body and hands are covered with yellow as a ground. Marks on the arms and legs are made by drawing the fingers along their lengths in the freshly applied yellow paint. A black spot is made on the forehead, nose and each temple; a larger one on the breast and a similar one opposite on the back. There is an alternative paint in which a red ground is used, but otherwise

the same. The owner is free to choose either. These are his war paint and if at any time he has a dream that threatens ill, he paints himself after this manner for protection, the idea being that as the paint protects him in war it may also keep off other dangers.

The owner must observe certain rules in his daily life. The point of the spear must never touch earth. Every morning and evening, a sweet-grass smudge must be made at the usual place in the tipi. The owner must not smoke in any place where moccasins are hanging up. While he is smoking no one in the tipi should touch moccasins, nor touch the bare earth with the fingers, nor sit at or in the door. The violation of any of these will result in dreadful skin diseases. Again, if he should turn back in battle, or after starting in the direction of known enemies, he will be killed. If he goes straight into the fight, he will not be killed.

This bundle was primarily a war medicine. When the owner was about to go on the warpath the bundle was opened by performing the ritual and then made up again in the usual way. Again, when a scout had located the enemy, the bundle was again opened in the same way just before the attack, the owner going against the enemy with the spear and in full regalia.

A man well versed in the affairs of the warpath gave the following incidents in the history of this spear:—Once my grandfather, then a young man was mourning for his brother. He took the spear and went to war. Whenever his party approached enemies with spears they fled. At last they came upon two of the enemy asleep, and my grandfather killed them with the medicine spear. After this my grandfather carried it to war with him many times. In former times the spear could be owned by men who had been great leaders in war. Once this spear was lost in battle with the Assiniboine. The man who carried it thrust it into the body of an enemy but could not recover it; just when the battle was over the spear was found still in the dead body. This spear was once owned by a small man who went out with a war party against the Crow. At this time the Yellowstone was very high. He asked the tallest man of the party to carry the spear. The current of the stream was so strong that it took them all off their feet. Whenever the spear point touched the water it would get hot and sparks would fly off as it rose from the surface.

During the winter of 1903 a certain man's child became very ill and he registered a vow that if it recovered, he would purchase the medicine spear, i. e., have it transferred to him. The child died. This aroused considerable feeling in the community against this bundle and the owner himself felt his faith shaken, especially fearing that he should never be able to get it off his hands. Since this incident, however, the bundle has given satisfactory results.

There is another lance among the Blood, though for some reason it is spoken of as a pipe. It was captured from the Cree and after a time its owner had dreams resulting in a ritual. We received the drum used with it. As to the ritual, we gained no definite information. It seems to have had a checkered career and not held in particular esteem. For example, it was once buried with its owner who did not transfer it. Later, however, a man reconstructed it and claimed the ritual with the necessary ceremony for such cases.

Among the Piegan there was a bear lance bearing some analogies to the bear knife.<sup>1</sup> This was buried with its owner some years ago and has never been restored.

In passing, it may be remarked that we found no use of the bow-spear, revered by some divisions of the Siouan stock.

#### THE MEDICINE-PIPE.

Among the more important medicines of the Blackfoot are the sacred pipe bundles. Something more than seventeen of these are distributed among the several reservations and while there are some differences, as will be noted later, the greater number are of one type and may be assumed to



Fig. 20 (50-5448). A Medicine-pipe Bundle. Length, 132 cm.

have had a common origin. We refer to what may be considered the thunder's pipe, or the ritual handed down by the thunder, a Blood version of which may be found in our collection of myths.<sup>2</sup> So far as we know, the

<sup>1</sup> See myth, vol. 2, 96.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 2, 89.

first clear account of the Blackfoot pipe ceremony is by Kane as observed June, 1846.<sup>1</sup> He has given us a sketch of the dance with the pipes, one of the bundles showing in proper position over the door of a tipi.

A pipe bundle is shown in Fig. 20. The outer wrapping for these bundles should be the hairy skin of a black bear and next to this a scraped elk hide. Around the middle of the bundle is a broad strip of elkskin. The contents are made up into two bundles which we shall designate as primary and secondary. The former is a long slender poke made of red flannel, both ends open. It contains the decorated stem, or the pipe proper, and a head band of white buffalo skin, with the hair, and an eagle feather to tie on the owner's head. The bundle should always hang so that the mouthpiece of the stem points to the north (in the ceremony, toward the east) and as a guide to this the ends of the poke are tied with different colored cords. The secondary bundle contains a smaller pipestem,<sup>2</sup> an owl, two loons, two white swans, two cranes, a muskrat skin, an otterskin, a rattle, a skin of a fawn, a whistle, and sometimes the skin of a prairie dog. These are wrapped in pieces of gaily colored calico. Tobacco is put into the bird skins. The rattle is kept in a poke of prairie dog skin. Naturally, the contents of this secondary bundle differ somewhat for the various pipes.

In a square fringed bag<sup>3</sup> are kept paints and smudge materials; also beads for the owner and his wife, a necklace and other accessories. There is also a wooden bowl for the owner, a whip, and a rope. No one must use any of these objects handled by a pipe owner. He must also have a horse for his own use. Should he loan it, something ill would befall the horse or the rider. Special forked sticks are required for the smudge. All these objects are kept coated with red earth paint.<sup>4</sup> The owner's robe was often painted as shown in Fig. 21, though since the extinction of the buffalo this has almost passed out of mind. A special fan, an eagle's wing, is in the outfit; also a pipe-stoker, and a tobacco board.

The primary bundle is a true bundle and was sometimes carried to war. Around its middle is often a binding, similar to the elkskin wrapping, and a cord for suspension. Though we have no direct evidence, the inference is that the secondary bundle has been added to an original bundle containing the pipestem only. The stem in our collection is shown in Fig. 22. It is about thirty inches long. In two places it is wrapped with wire, in another

<sup>1</sup> Kane, 424.

<sup>2</sup> The pipe bowls are not kept in the bundle and the medicine stem is rarely smoked. About the only time it is so used is when the bundle is opened at the sun dance and brought into the enclosure. There it must be lighted with flint and steel by a person who has captured a medicine-pipe from the enemy.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. 5, 77.

<sup>4</sup> It is said that formerly every pipe owner kept his garment fully coated with red paint so that he could be known at sight.



with red flannel. The intervening spaces are fringed with strips of white weasel skins. From the lower end hangs a fan of eagle tail-feathers. A few bells are also attached.

The headdress is a simple band of white buffalo calfskin (often sheep or goat skin) about two inches wide. The longest feather from an eagle's wing is tied across the head above this band.

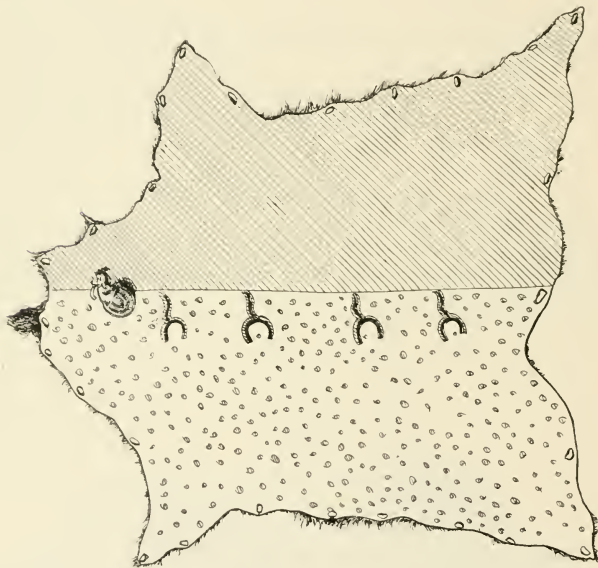


Fig. 21 (50-5459). A decorated buffalo Robe for a Medicine-pipe Owner. The upper part is painted red, below which are four claws of the thunder bird and spots representing hail. Attached to the robe is a small bag of sweet pine needles.

The medicine-pipe bundle in the Museum collection contains the following:—

- 50-5448 a. The wrappings for the bundle: a tanned elk hide, a bear-skin (in this case an imitation of dog skin), a number of thongs and pieces of gaily colored calico.
- b. The carrying strap: a woman's belt because it falls to her to carry the bundle.



- c. A woman's shawl. It is customary to cover all pipe bundles with such a shawl.
- 50-5449 a. The decorated pipestem, the chief object in the bundle.
- b. A headdress of mountain goat wool in imitation of white buffalo calf.
- c. Eagle wing-feather, worn crosswise on the leader's head.
- d. Small pipestem for smoking in the ceremonies.
- e. Rattle used by the owner in connection with certain songs.
- f. Bag of muskrat skin for the rattle.
- g. A flageolette.
- h. Head of a crane.
- i. Skin of a loon in the form of a tobacco pouch.
- j. Foetus of a deer, tobacco pouch.
- k. A pipe rack of three sticks.
- l. Skin of a prairie dog.
- m. Skin of a squirrel.
- n. Skin of a squirrel.
- o. Bowl for pipestem *d*.
- p. Skin of a muskrat.
- q. Skin of a mink.
- r. An owl skin.
- 50-5716 An owl skin.
- 50-5717 a-c. Skins of birds.
- 50-5450 Stick for fastening the bundle over the door on the outside, where it is sometimes placed in the morning.
- 50-5451 Tripod on which the bundle hangs when out-of-doors.
- 50-5452 a. Rawhide bag with accessories.
- b. Small bag of roots used in the smudge.
- c-h. Bags containing red paints.
- i. A paint bag.
- j. Muskrat skin for wiping sweat from the face of the owner.
- k. Bag of pine needles for the smudge.
- l-m. Necklaces for the owner and his wife.
- n-o. Paint sticks for penciling designs on the face.
- 50-5453 Tongs used for placing fire on the smudge place.
- 50-5454 a. Tobacco cutting board.
- b-c. Pipe-stokers.
- 50-5455 Wooden bowl for the owner's food.
- 50-5456 Fan of eagle wing for the owner.
- 50-5457 Whip for owner's horse.
- 50-5458 Thong lariat for owner's horse.
- 50-5459 Painted buffalo robe for owner.



Fig. 22 (50-5449a). A Medicine-pipe.

*The Ritual.*<sup>1</sup> All bundle ceremonies are held in the tipi, or home of the owner, and as his use of the sweat house, the form of the smudge place, etc., are determined by the restrictions imposed by the ritual, there is practically no preparation in that sense, everything being in constant readiness for the ceremony. Except as hereafter stated, the owner of a pipe bundle lets it be known informally that the bundle will be opened at a certain time. He formally invites a man experienced in the ritual to assist as a prompter or actually to officiate. A few other men are invited to aid in the songs. These men are usually accompanied by their wives, or head-wives, if from a polygamous household. The wife of the owner or officiating pipe-man

<sup>1</sup> So far as we know the only other extended account of a pipe ritual is that by McCintock (262). The ritual we give belongs to the pipe in the Museum. Our information is to the effect that there are some differences in pipe rituals and the details of the ceremonies and that there are many songs optional to the owner and those officiating. Hence, many of the differences to be noticed in the work of this writer are doubtless based upon authentic statements concerning particular bundles.

takes an important part in the ceremony while the others assist in singing. As a rule, the ceremony is performed during the day, beginning about ten or eleven o'clock and ending early the same afternoon. Those invited assemble at the owner's tipi. The officiating pipe-man takes his seat at the rear, facing the smudge place and the door. On his left, sits the prompter and next, the men to assist in the singing.<sup>1</sup> On the right of the pipe-man sits his wife and next, the other women. The remaining part of the circle is free to anyone who comes to look on, but is usually taken only by the aged and important, the others standing outside by the open door.

Several layers of blankets are placed in front of the pipe-man upon which the owner's wife lays the bundle. Theoretically, the pipe-man should now formally state the reasons for this particular opening of the bundle and give in substance the narrative of its origin; but this is often passed over with the statement that, "All must be familiar with the account of how this pipe was given to us and have heard of the reason for the ceremony now about to take place." He then proceeds with the ritual.

To assist the reader in the comprehension of this ritual we have presented it under what seem to be its two main divisions: *a*, the opening of the bundle and *b*, the dancing with the pipe. However, so far as we know, the pipe-men themselves never thought of the ritual under these heads. To them it proceeds by units of seven songs each, between which there are optional intervals of rest, conversation, and feasting. The songs for this ritual were recorded with a graphophone.<sup>2</sup> Like most Indian songs they are composed of conventional meaningless syllables with one or two phrases expressing the sentiment of the song or referring to the

<sup>1</sup> Seven drums are required in the ceremony, the single rattle being used by the officiating pipe-man. Before the drums are used there is an interesting procedure. The pipe owner takes up a drum, holds it in the smudge, then raises it above his head and sings: "That, above, powerful; the earth, powerful." Then he must count four war deeds; then raising the drum high above his head, he strikes gently in succession the four corners of the smudge place. This confers to the drummers the right to participate.

<sup>2</sup> These records are in the Museum collection (Nos. 367-84) together with their texts the translations for which are used in this paper. The chief responsibility for these rests with Mr. Duvall. Since this is not a linguistic study we omit the texts, giving only the translations. However, it may be worth while adding a few terms common to most songs and prayers:—

*natojiwa* (animate form, *natosiu*<sup>a</sup>) — hidden sun power, the state of being saturated with sun power, etc. This corresponds in a way to the Dakota *wakan*, the Ojibway *manitou*, etc.

*spos<sup>x</sup>tum* — the above, the heavens, etc. This seems to imply all the powers and creatures that move in the air and in space.

*so<sup>x</sup>kuma* — the earth, the lower regions, etc. This is the antipode of the preceding and seems to imply all the creatures and powers that move on and through the earth.

*saam* — medicines. Bundles and their contents as well as rituals are designated by this term.

In the translations these concepts have been rendered as powerful, the above, the below (earth), and medicines, respectively.

ceremonial acts accompanying them. We have given the intelligible phrases only, as we are not now concerned with the other aspects of these songs.

a. The opening of the bundle begins with the making of the first smudge with sweet pine needles. A burning coal is taken from the fire with the wooden tongs and placed in the smudge square. As the first song begins, the pipe-man takes up some of the sweet pine and slowly drops it on the fire. As the smoke rises, he and his wife hold their hands in the smoke and sing:—

1. That which is above; it is powerful.

The pipe owner makes the smudge but his wife sings with him and both hold their hands in the smoke:—

2. That which is below; it is powerful.

While this is sung, the woman rises and takes the bundle down from its place between herself and her husband and holds it while the third and fourth songs are sung, words same as the above. Then follow the fifth and sixth songs while the woman takes off the shawl or outer wrapping and lays the bundle down between herself and her husband. With the seventh song another smudge is made.

## SECOND SEVEN SONGS.

1. You stand up; you take me.  
You untie me; I am powerful.

The woman unties the cords.

2. We are still at the same place sitting; it is powerful.

She puts the bundle down again. In this and the preceding the pipe is supposed to be speaking.

3. This here man, he says, my robe, take it; it is powerful.

This is sometimes called the antelope song and the woman makes movements of hooking and poking at the bundle in imitation of this animal. The pipe is supposed to be speaking about the bundle wrappings.

4. Man, you must say it; buffalo (robe), I take it; it is powerful.

As this is sung the woman takes off the outer thong, which should be of buffalo. Here the pipe is considered to address the owner as a son to a father.

5. My robe, I take it; it is powerful.

This is the elk song but the pipe is speaking of his own robe and the woman shakes her head, etc., like an elk, charging upon the bundle and knocking off the outer wrapping of elkskin.

6. The words are the same as above but refer to the owner's own robe. Both the owner and the woman pull their robes over their heads and sit like beaver.

7. The same words again, but the woman makes four passes toward the bundle and bringing both hands down on it in imitation of a bear removes the bearskin covering which is the robe referred to in this song.

#### THIRD SEVEN SONGS.

b. The bundle is now open and the contents visible. The secondary bundles are untied during a rest.

1. Man, you must say it; my pipe, it is powerful.

The pipe is speaking. The owner takes up the pipe and holds the mouth-piece to the north.

2. Man, you must say it; my pipe it is powerful.

He holds it to the east.

3. Say, man (the pipe) you sit up that you may be seen; it is powerful.

Owner is addressing the pipe and holds it to the south.

4. This my pipe, it is powerful.

Holds it to the west. Then lays it down.

5. Man, he says my pipe, it is powerful.

6. This here (the pipe) man. You sit up that you may be seen; it is powerful.

Owner takes up the pipe and holds it, shakes it four times, and lays it down again.

7. My lodge, may it be solid (safe, etc.); it is powerful.

This here man, get up so they see you, your children (all the people present.)

The owner is speaking to the pipe. Then he rises and shakes it. Should a feather or any part fall the luck would be bad; the owner begins to sing his war song, and prepare for the worst. Some brave men dance with the pipe on their shoulder without holding it; this is brave because if the pipe should fall to the ground their luck will be bad.

#### FOURTH SEVEN SONGS.

1. A dancing song: the owner takes the whistle, blows four times to the north and dances, keeping time with the rattle; the same to the sun; then to the south, and to the west. Then sits down.

2. A dancing song: the owner takes the smudge stick and dances around the tipi stopping at the four places as with the whistle.

3. A dance song: the owner takes the pipe and moves toward the door, dances for the north, holds the pipe up toward the sun and prays, then dances at the south and lastly to the west.

4-5. These may be dance songs at the option of the owner; otherwise the skunk song takes their place, which is a pleading for mercy to those who run about on the ground. This is unusual, however.

6. The above, it is powerful; this here below (earth), it is my tipi.

This refers to the eagle feather for the head which should be the longest wing feather. The eagle has power to go above, but makes his home on the earth. The feather is tied on during the song.

7. That man, says, the calf, hand it to me.

The headdress representing a white buffalo calf is put on at this time.

#### FIFTH SEVEN SONGS.

1. Woman says, elk I want, hand it to me.

This refers to the elkskin wrapping of the bundle, but usually nothing is done at this time.

2. That below (earth), it is my tipi.

This is the horse song and is symbolized by the decoration of horsehair on the pipe.

3. Yonder man, say, calf I want, hand it to me.

4. Repeat No. 1.

5. This here, my paint, you take some of it; it is powerful.

6. The buffalo, you take some of it powerful.

7. Repeat No. 6.

When 5 is sung the owner takes up the paint; at 6 he takes up tallow and mixes the paint; at 7 he paints the face.

#### SIXTH SEVEN SONGS.

1. The water is my body; it is powerful.

2. My tipi; it is powerful.

The idea expressed in the first song is the general concept of the water-fowl found in the bundle. Sometimes when this is sung some water is sprinkled over or given to the owner. In the transfer of the formula this is always taken as giving him the right to the power or use of water as an element. The second song refers to the duck, and the woman takes it up while singing.

3, 4, and 5. These refer to the bear and are symbolized by the wrapping of bearskin and are dancing songs without words.

6. This refers to the owls, also a dance song, these objects being carried in the dance.

7. This refers to the power of using the horse and in the transfer gives the right to its use (p. 158).

#### SEVENTH SEVEN SONGS.

1. His horse's running; it is powerful.

2. Repeat No. 1.

These refer to the power of the horse again: the first for running, the second for the horse that is to carry the pipe bundle when camp is moved.

3. No words to this song but it is always sung by a pipe owner before he lies down to sleep anywhere except in his own bed.

4. The waves are my medicines; over and under the waters is my home.

5. Under the waters is my home.

These songs refer to the loon in the bundle.

6. My tipi, I am looking for it; I have found it.

When I come in; it is powerful.

Man, where you have been sitting (the seat in the ceremony) is powerful.

Woman repeats the above.

This is a transfer song and refers to the new owner going forth to his home. He is usually carried in a blanket.

7. This here my medicine; it is powerful; I give it to you, this here water, our medicines.

Refers to the muskrat skin and the other water creatures in the bundle.

#### EIGHTH SEVEN SONGS.

1, 2, 3, and 4 are dancing songs and usually have no words, except that one of them is sometimes spoken of as the chicken song, or the white man's medicine bird. The words, however, seem to have another significance:

The above white man hears me.

5. This is a painting song in which the second painting of the owner takes place.

6. This is a dancing song in which he dances to the four directions. It is also used in making a vow.

7. This is one of those elements often introduced with a tinge of humor. It is sung at transfers and the words are, "I have a mind to take it back."



It is explained that a famous bundle owner once transferred his bundle to a man who owned a very fine horse under the impression that it would be among the gifts and when he saw that it was not, he sang this song. Since then it has been a part of the formula and is often the occasion for great mirth and a hint for the purchaser to make more gifts.

There are other songs making a total of seventy or more, but the above are the usual ones in ceremonies. In cases of transfer all the songs must be sung in the correct order, but in other ceremonies the leader can close at any time after the bundle is open. To do this he sings the closing song: taking up a drum, swinging it slowly, and laying it down with the refrain, "Where I sit is powerful."

In general, it will be seen that the opening of the bundle is preliminary and that what follows is a song and dance for each important object in the bundle, each of which symbolizes some concept of power.

*Sweat House and Paints.* All such ceremonies are usually either preceded or followed by the entrance of the chief participants into a sweat house. The ceremony for the sweat house is in the main fixed and independent of other rituals and will be discussed under another head. In case of the pipe bundle, the hole in which the heated stones are placed is rectangular and rather long in proportion to its width. An experienced pipe-man (a Blood) offered the explanation that this was symbolic of the thunder, who causes long breaks or crevices in the ground. The smudge place in the tipi of a pipe owner is also rectangular. Whenever the owner of a pipe uses the sweat house, except when officiating in a ceremony requiring a different kind of hole, he must use the rectangular one though when transferring the pipe, the hole is heart-shaped. When the sweat house is used in connection with the pipe bundle ceremony the bundle is often placed on top with the mouthpiece of the stem toward the door, or the east. A buffalo skull, painted and decorated with sage grass as at the sun dance, is also placed at the west side of the sweat house on the dirt taken out of the hole inside.

When a medicine-pipe is first given to a man, one of his horses is painted red together with his rope and whip. These things he alone must use. The medicine-pipe owner's horse is painted as follows: across the forehead and down to the nose is a stripe of red; the mane and tail are painted red; a zigzag line ending in a horseshoe runs down the hind and the fore quarter; red dots on the neck and collar and on the hind quarter complete the painting. The zigzag ending in a horseshoe is called the Eagle Claw. This is similar to the painted robe, Fig. 21.

The owner uses red paint, the seventh paint, and black.<sup>1</sup> The first is

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 5, 133.

used for his special utensils and he keeps his robe and leggings well smeared with it. For the face he uses the seventh paint. When taking part in a scalp dance he traces over the seventh paint with black; a mark down the bridge of the nose, a dot on each cheek, a curved mark over the forehead and a similar one over the chin. Another painting for all occasions is with the seventh paint, a vertical mark down the nose and a curve across the forehead above.

*Function.* When considering the function of the pipe bundle it may be noted that there are but four occasions on which it can be opened: the sound of the first thunder in the spring; when it is transferred to a new owner; when the tobacco within is renewed; and in accordance with a vow.

As indicated in the origin myth these bundles are believed to have been handed down by the thunder and are in consequence often spoken of as the thunder's pipe. Curiously enough, it is a belief that the thunder is afraid of an ordinary pipe, or, according to some informants, has an aversion to them and smoking; hence, in the ceremonies the pipe-man is careful to open the prayers with "Thunder, this is your own pipe," etc. Some few years ago (1904) a number of Piegan were gathered in a tipi during a thunder-storm. A man called out in bravado inviting the thunder to come in and smoke. Almost at the same instant, it is said, the bolt struck the tipi, killing some and injuring others. This was cited as recent confirmation of the old belief that the thunder disliked smoking except in case of his own pipe. The opening of the pipe bundle at the return of the thunder is imperative. At the first sound reaching his ears, the owner of a bundle must make immediate preparations for the opening. He goes outside and announces the event, extending an invitation to everybody, old and young. It is said, that everyone is made glad by the sound of the first thunder because they will be prayed for and receive consecrated tobacco.<sup>1</sup> They do not wait for the invitation but at the first thunder hurry to the tipi of the nearest pipe owner. The ceremony does not differ materially from the full ritual given above, except that it may be closed at the end of the twenty-first song at the will of the owner. The pipe is carried out-of-doors, and prayers are made to the thunder while the mouthpiece is held up towards the sky, the home of the thunder. In the prayers at this time the thunder is besought for the welfare of all present and especially that no one be killed by him during the year. Tobacco is taken out of the bundle and distributed among all present. The possession and smoking of this is believed to bring one under the in-

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<sup>1</sup> At the sound of the first thunder in the spring everyone is expected to stop in his tracks and pray. He opens with, "I am glad to hear you again," and prays for happiness, health, plenty, etc.

fluence of the all pervading good will of the thunder. Also, at this time, soup made of dried berries kept in store for the occasion, is distributed: even small portions of berry food (usually service berries) may be given out.

It has been said that this ceremony is to make berries increase during the summer, but we find no evidence\* to support such a view as in the prayers plenty of all things are asked, tobacco, meat, vegetables, berries, clothing, horses, children, long life, success in all undertakings, etc. About the only distinctive feature we have observed, is the specific prayer for protection against death by lightning.

Occasionally, a man may own two or more pipe bundles at the same time. In such a case he opens one on each succeeding day after the initial opening until all have been so handled.

In preparation for the thunder ceremony it is usual to open the bundle once during the winter, that an adequate supply of tobacco may be placed within. One or two of the well-known rolls of Hudson Bay tobacco are broken up and distributed in the bird and animal skin pouches kept in the bundle. As these openings of the bundle cost the owner a nice sum in the way of food and gifts, he usually takes advantage of its opening for a vow to renew the tobacco, thus dispensing with the regular winter ceremony. At this and all other ceremonies, berry soup is distributed. Tobacco may be given out at any time, but is made a special feature of the thunder ceremony.

As a discussion of the transfer belongs logically under a different head, it remains to consider the vow to have a pipe bundle opened. An individual in dire distress due to illness in the family or to other causes, may vow in the name of the sun, or other great powers, that if help or relief comes, he will dance with a medicine-pipe. If the request is granted, some time after, he gets together a number of quilts, blankets, etc., takes them to the tipi of a pipe owner and lays them down by the pipe bundle. This is the formal announcement to the owner and the ceremony takes place as soon thereafter as possible. The ritual proceeds as usual until the pipe is out. Then the face and hands of the supplicant are painted and the smudge used with him. This is done to the supplicant's wife also. There are now four chief characters; the owner and his wife, the supplicant and his wife. The owner takes the hand of the supplicant; the owner's wife takes the hand of the woman.<sup>1</sup> They hold the hands of each over the smudge four times. The supplicant is then given the pipe and the four dance around the tipi facing in turn the four directions and passing the pipe from one to the other. When the circuit is made, this fulfills the vow. A gift of one or two horses

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<sup>1</sup> In case a woman makes the vow, the position is reversed, she receiving the pipe at the beginning of the dance.

must be made to the owner and other property distributed among those present as a show of gratitude.

While the above is the usual form for the vow, the ceremony has been performed without waiting for the result. This haste is not looked upon, however, with full approval.

In this connection the following account by the owner of a particular pipe bundle may be of interest:—

A person making a vow goes to the pipe owner and promises to give a feast if he will pray for the recovery of a sick relative. As soon as the person who has been ill becomes well he and the one making the vow go to the home of the pipe owner who immediately issues invitations to old medicine-pipe owners to come to the feast. As soon as they are all assembled, a blanket is spread on the ground near the rear of the tipi, where the pipe is to be placed after it has been opened. Four drums are also placed on another blanket. The man who is to open the pipe bundle sits in the rear at the right of the tipi, the pipe still remaining hanging.

First they pray over and eat the berry soup which is given them by the man making the vow. The pipe owner then takes the smudge stick and after chewing some pine needles, spits on the smudge stick and hands it to another man who is to get a live coal with it. The man gets the coal and starting from the north of the fire, passes around to the left of it to the smudge. He then takes a few of the pine needles in one hand and holding them over head, sings: "The above is powerful, help me. The ground is powerful." The pine needles are now placed on the live coal. There are seven opening songs the words of which are similar to the one quoted.

Another smudge is made and the song refers to the wife of the pipe owner when she rises to take down the pipe and places it on the ground. While the woman is unfastening the cords by which the pipe hangs on the wall, the men sing for her: "She is holy, rising: She is holy, standing. Untie me, I am powerful." At the last word the woman takes the pipe bundle in her arms and remains standing with it. Another song follows: "Where I sit is holy." The woman makes four passes with the pipe over the smudge and places it on the blanket which is to the west of the smudge at the rear of the tipi. She sits down near the bundle a little to the left of it.

A song referring to the shawl covering of the pipe is sung: "Its robe I take it. It is powerful." Upon this the shawl is removed and placed under the pipe bundle. The songs which follow, all of which are connected with the opening of the bundle, refer to the antelope and to the buckskin string with which the bundle is tied, to the elk robe which is used as a wrapping for the pipe, to the bearskin which is used as a cover, and to the buffalo.

The words for this last song are: "Buffalo I have taken. They are powerful." There is still another song when the coverings are off the pipe, but as a calico covering still remains, the man takes the pipe and holds first one end and then the other over the smudge, then alternately in his left and his right arm and then as he would hold a child. A song relating to the removing of the cover from the pipe is sung. As a ribbon is tied at either end of the pipe, it is first untied and each end held over the smudge. The sack-shaped piece of cloth is pulled off the pipe and while another song is sung the calico wrapped around the pipestem is removed. The words of this song are: "You are going to see my pipe. It is holy." Now the pipe is placed on its coverings. A smudge is made and a song sung; "Men, women, and children will see your body arise. They will know that your body is holy." The man then takes up the pipe and, shaking it four times, makes one pass towards the smudge with it and returns it to its place.

The man takes up one of the drums and first chewing some pine needles, spits on his hands, and then rubs them all around the frame of the drum. He holds the drum over the smudge place, and strikes the southeast corner of it, and then repeats the same movements on the southwest, northwest, and northeast corners of the smudge place. Still holding the drum he calls on two men to tell two war deeds each. After each tale he strikes the drum and after all have been told he hands the drums to those who are to use them. This is to give them the right to use the drum.

The men sing and drum and the pipe-man takes the whistle and, after chewing some pine needles, he spits on his hands, rubs the whistle and hands it to one of the men who rises and dances with it. As he is sitting on the right near the rear of the tipi, he dances in one place and when the singing and drumming cease, he blows his whistle to the east, south, west, and to the north, moving to the north of the fireplace and dancing there. He repeats the same movements as before, dancing near the door and south of the fireplace. He returns the whistle to its place and takes his seat. The pipe owner rises and dances with his pipe, the singers ceasing four times before he returns to his place. As the singing ceases he rests, and when it begins again, he continues to dance. When he gets to his place, he hands the pipe to his wife; she takes and prays to it and then makes a pass over the smudge with it and puts it down.

There is another mouthpiece which is used when the medicine-pipe is smoked as the true mouthpiece is not used. At the next dance one man rises and dances with this mouthpiece and a rattle belonging to the bundle. This is followed by another dance and song and one rises and dances with the smudge stick and the bag of sweet pine needles. Another song, and they dance with the owl, holding it as a child. Then a song and a dance is gone through for each of the following: the loon, the antelope bag belonging

to the pipe bundle, the duck. The next song is for the bearskin, but the man dances around without the hide.

The person for whom the vow was made now has his face painted for which he pays two or three blankets and some money.<sup>1</sup> The owner stands up with his pipe and rubs some pine needles over it, next to him stands the man who has been sick, then the pipe owner's wife, and the sick man's wife. They all stand to the northwest of the fireplace, and dance in a row, first facing the wall, then towards the center, and then all move to the northeast of the fire and the man who was sick takes the pipe and dances with it. The four then face the wall and then the center, move to the southeast of the fire and then the owner's wife dances with the pipe. Then they move to the southwest and the sick man's wife takes the pipe and after dancing with it prays that they may all live long, and succeed in all their undertakings. As her prayer ends all present make "the receiving sign" (p. 247) and pray for what they wish. Before they begin to dance the man who was sick presents blankets, and sometimes yards and yards of calico which are spread on the ground where they dance. After the dancing is over they are given to the owner of the pipe. The blanket in which the pipe bundle was placed is also provided by the man for whom the vow was made. Sometimes the pipe owner receives a horse as a fee. This ends the ceremony. When all the guests have left, the pipe owner and his wife wrap up the pipe as it was before.

These special ceremonies serve to reveal in part, at least, the functions of the pipe bundle. It furnishes the occasion for receiving the benefits of special prayers to the thunder and the means of fulfilling vows assumed to have warded off grave dangers. In so far the bundle, though owned by a single individual, had a public function not restricted to given bands, social classes or distinctions. All have equal access to its powers in time of need. This form of pipe seems to have had little more to do with war than with the other phases of daily life. A man, could, however, register a vow that if successful on a raid or in a fight, he would dance with a pipe and proceed with its fulfillment in due time. Occasionally, the owner carried the unopened bundle to war.<sup>2</sup> It is narrated that about the year 1881 a famous Assiniboiné named White-dog was killed by the Piegan without loss to themselves because in the attack one of the party carried a pipe bundle extended toward the victim. This was primarily to overcome the great

<sup>1</sup> The designs are in red, a dot on each cheek, a horizontal line from each corner of the mouth with a pair of short vertical cross lines, an analogous mark on the forehead and a mark down the nose. The style bears some resemblance to Dakota painting in the hunka ceremony.

<sup>2</sup> According to one informant a pipe was sometimes unwrapped on the warpath, when the owner filled his mouth with water and expelled it over the stem and decorations, to produce rain or fog to mask his movements.



medicine powers White-dog was believed to possess and his easy death naturally demonstrated the superior power of the pipe bundle. Returning to the point at issue, it appears that while the public has some interest in maintaining the pipe bundle and in theory receives benefits from the same, its chief function seems to be the protection of its owner and the enhancement of his social and religious position among the people.

*The Owner.* The owner of a pipe bundle is spoken of as a medicine-pipe man (*nina'mpskan kwe'niman*, usually contracted to *nina'mpskan*). The name also applies after the ritual has been transferred, though in speaking, the phrase construction when possible is in the past tense, thus distinguishing between the real and the ex-owner. The ex-pipe-man may be called in to officiate at the opening of the bundle and may also receive a bundle into his tipi for temporary care during the incapacity of the owner; but no other person can lead the ceremony no matter how familiar he may be with the ritual. A pipe-man receives great social, religious, and even political recognition, being regarded as of the first rank and entitled to the first seat in a tipi: i. e., opposite the man of the household. As this is disputed by the owners of beaver bundles, a question to be considered later, we may safely assert that he is among the highest ranks in respect to the ownership of rituals. The wife of a pipe-man should be honored and given a seat not lower than that of the head-wife of her host. If possible, everyone is expected to pass behind a pipe-man whether in a tipi or on the road. In theory at least, the same rules should be observed toward his wife. All loud and boisterous conversation should be restrained in their presence. If in the chase one should kill game in front of a pipe-man, the best of the meat goes to him. The pipe-men were also entitled to the best cuts from the buffalo drive. While he is running buffalo no one should cross his tracks lest the horse stumble and fall. Naturally, pipe-men are called upon to perform certain important functions, as selecting the camp sites for the sun dance, leading the band when moving camp, sitting in councils, offering prayers, etc. Some observers have considered these men as constituting a society but this is scarcely admissible for they are not so regarded by their people and while they have certain bonds of sympathy, they neither meet in a body nor have ceremonies of any kind in common. On the other hand, some of the societies to be discussed later had medicine-pipes, in which case the owners were members, a circumstance no doubt contributing to the confusion.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> McClintock speaks of the bundle owners as a society (251), but we find no traces of an organization. In his account of the forced transfer, McClintock speaks of the party as composed of pipe-men, or members of the society. Our informants have incidentally stated that in this procession and its ceremonies, the chief parts were assigned to certain men because of requisite war deeds, regardless of their having owned a pipe bundle. The name medicine-pipe men, applies only to those who now own or have owned pipe bundles. Thus the owners, in a sense, constitute a class, but are not organized.



The owner of a bundle must observe certain prohibitions more or less troublesome in his daily routine. Among these, he must never point at a person with the fingers but with the thumb: to use the finger would endanger the life of the one so designated. He must not loan any of his personal property. If a person asks such a favor, he makes no reply whatever. In such cases, it is usual for the borrower to take what he wants if he can find it. As the owner cannot ask for the return nor send for objects so taken, he is entirely dependent upon the good will and honesty of his neighbors. If he finds an object when walking or riding, he must not pick it up or allow it to be appropriated to his own use. He may call another and allow him to take it. If, however, he has four coups to his record, he may take the object after recounting them to the sun and singing certain songs. In smoking, he must take the pipe in the same hand and hold it in the same way as the person passing it to him. (The pipe-men themselves have a special way of holding the pipe at all times when passing it, p. 164.) In formal smoking, the pipe is passed down the circle once and then returned to the leader, but a pipe-man may smoke it every time it passes. If he does not smoke he must hold the end of the stem to his breast at his turn instead of passing it on as others may do. No one must sit on his bed or bedding as misfortune will come to him. The horse that carries the pipe bundle when camp is moved has his face painted like the owner and a stripe over the shoulders and rump. After having borne the pipe bundle once, meat must never be placed in his load, lest he meet with an accident. On the march, the owner must permit no one to pass in front of him. No weapons can be carried on the horse or other conveyance with the pipe bundle. All pipe-men have a fear of dogs.<sup>1</sup> There are other restrictions but these are probably sufficient for our purpose. It will be observed that many of these apply to others as well as the owner, it being the duty of all, old and young, to inform themselves of the requirements of the various rituals and to respect them accordingly.

The home of the pipe bundle is its owner's tipi and its constant care brings no small responsibility to himself and his wife, but especially to the latter. During the day, the bundle is kept outside. It may be hung just above the door of the tipi, a special attachment being provided for that purpose. In most cases, however, it is hung from a tripod set up in the rear of the tipi. Each morning the woman makes a smudge of sweet pine and carries the bundle and tripod out turning to the south and passing around to the rear of the tipi where the tripod is put into position.<sup>2</sup> In all

<sup>1</sup> See myth, Vol. 2, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> The smudge places, or altars, while varying somewhat are either rectangular or square. The surface is removed to a depth of about four inches and loose earth deposited outside at the rear along the base of the tipi. The smudge is made at the center. On the left side are placed long tongs made from a forked branch of cherry, used in lifting coals of fire to the smudge place; on the right is a pouch containing needles of the sweet pine. For some pipes the surface of the smudge place is sprinkled with colored earths, but usually it is plain, with a smaller rectangle traced around the center.

movements and placings, the end of the bundle containing the mouthpiece of the stem must point toward the north. The woman returns to the tipi by the south side. At sunset, she again makes the smudge in which she holds her hands as before, then passes around by the north side and retraces her steps with the bundle. Thus the bundle has made the entire circuit, the usual ceremonial sun-wise movement, and theoretically, should be outside from the moment the sun rises until it sets. During rain or continued cloudiness it is kept within doors. A few bundles are placed on the door in the forenoon and then in the rear during the afternoon. In the tipi, the tripod with the bundle is leaned against the back of the tipi between the backrests. It is always kept well above the ground at all times. We may note, also, that for some bundles the tripods are not set up outside, but leaned against the back of the tipi. Hung up with the true bundle are the other accessories previously described and over all is thrown a robe, formerly a buffalo robe, but now a costly shawl or steamer rug.

In no case must the bundle touch the ground. The name for bear must never be uttered in the tipi nor in the immediate presence of the bundle (p. 164). He may be spoken of as the "unmentionable one," "that big hairy one," or any other designation. Should one make a mistake, a smudge of sweet pine must be made immediately and in most cases prayers offered for pardon. Even children are expected to know and observe this prohibition. The occupants of the tipi must be very slow to answer or respond to a shout from the outside as it is proper for the caller to enter before speaking.

When the tipi is moved to another place, as formerly in the making and breaking of camp, consideration must be given the pipe bundle. The signal for breaking camp and the selection of a new site are theoretically functions of the leader of the band or division, as the case may be; but, if he is not a pipe-man, he leaves it to the owner of such a bundle to act for him, or at least to promulgate his decisions. Thus, when it has been decided that the camp is to break, the bundle is taken some distance from the tipi and the tripod so adjusted that the forward leg extends in the direction to be taken. Thus everyone may know what to expect. For a short period at the start, the owner and his wife sit on a robe in front of the tripod, facing the direction to be taken. Formerly, a special travois, saddle, and other trappings were kept painted red and reserved for the exclusive transportation of the bundle. The horse was painted as previously stated, and ridden by the owner's wife. The bundle was carried on the travois, the tripod tied up against the poles. Sometimes songs were sung and prayers offered at starting and while on the journey, but these can scarcely be considered peculiar to this bundle. On the march the owner, or owners, rode in the lead, usually immediately

followed by their wives with the bundles. Likewise, the new camp site was usually designated by setting up the tripods with their bundles. The native partisans of the pipe bundle argue that it is the oldest and most important ritual because it is closely associated with the making of camp and some observers have considered this as one of its important functions. This we believe to be an error, for the data we have indicate that in so far as these moving ceremonies are peculiar to this ritual, they come under the head of the care of the bundle rather than otherwise.

The ordinary sweat house is used with the medicine-pipe. The hole is triangular and is said to represent the heart of a buffalo. Sometimes the hole is heart-shaped. No fixed number of stones is required. The dirt from the hole is placed on the west side. Sweet pine needles are used for the smudge. The pipe bundle is laid on top of the house. A buffalo skull is laid on top of the house. A buffalo skull is painted as at the sun dance hundred willow sweat house and placed at the west side. Sixteen songs are sung in four sets, one during each of the four closed periods. There are medicine-pipe songs and buffalo songs. A smudge is made near the rear before the stones are brought in. The first four stones are placed outside the hole forming a rectangle and the fifth in the center of the hole, after which a smudge is made upon it. A common pipe is handed in; one of the men takes it, offers a few prayers and hands it to another to light and smoke. When burned out, it is passed outside and placed on the ground to the west with the stem toward the north. Those who own pipe bundles, or have owned them, pass their clothes out at the west side and also emerge there.

*The Transfer.* The transfer of a bundle of any kind is spoken of as a purchase or sale, though this refers especially to the exchange of property that takes place at that time. A man may proceed to purchase a pipe bundle in one of several ways. He may be ambitious to become a pipe-man and canvass among the present owners of bundles until he finds one willing to sell to him. This may take years or a day, as opportunity offers. He may make a vow in time of great need that if he comes through safely, he will buy a pipe bundle. Such appeals are usually made to the sun. The vow usually names a particular bundle and is registered before witnesses. In such cases, the owner has no option, to sell being imperative. Again, the owner of a bundle may force the purchase upon anyone he chooses, regardless of the purchaser's wishes. While in the transfer ceremony the bundle is opened and the ritual given, there are certain forms of procedure peculiar to the occasion, seemingly of considerable ethnological importance.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> McClintock (252) gives an impression that the pipe was transferred every four years. This is not the practice now and seems to have applied only to the pipes owned by certain societies that sold out after four years.

When a vow is to be fulfilled, the purchaser gathers together as many horses and blankets as possible. This may take some time but when all is ready he fills an ordinary pipe, goes to the tipi where the bundle is kept, offers the owner a smoke, and formally announces his promise to the sun and intention to purchase the bundle. At the same time, he makes gifts of blankets or even horses as evidence of his resources and good intentions. As the owner has no option in face of a vow to the sun, he is passive. The purchaser then returns to his tipi and after a time sends over a horse and seven blankets. The latter are to cover the sweat house which is prepared at the instance of the purchaser. When this is ready, the owner and the purchaser enter together with a third pipe-man, usually called in to officiate in the transfer. During the ceremony in the sweat house, the pipe bundle is often placed on top. From the sweat house all go directly to the owner's tipi where the ceremony begins. About this time, the owner makes a formal announcement of the amount of property he gave for the pipe bundle as a hint to the purchaser, but he must be content with whatever is given, be it much or little.

In the forced purchase, the owner calls in his friends secretly and announces his intention of selling his bundle. He decides upon one or more, choosing those having much property. In former times, he selected a man owning a fine swift horse in the hope that it would be included among the gifts (see p. 164). During the night, the pipe bundle is opened and a scout sent out to report on the victim. If the scout finds him sleeping, he takes out a tipi pin and a stake, according to the belief that this will make him sleep soundly. Upon a favorable report, the owner and his party take up the pipe, the owl skins, and the whistle, bearing them to the bedside of their victim.<sup>1</sup> Here they set up shouting some holding him, while others touch his shoulders and head with the pipe, etc. As they express it, he is now "caught with the pipe" and must not resist. To do so means ill luck and eventually death. Should he escape before being touched with the pipe and elude his pursuers, he need not purchase. When caught he is at once seated on a robe and required to hold the pipe in his hands. The crowd takes up the robe and bears him to the owner's tipi. On the way, they make four stops to sing the appropriate songs. He is set down in the owner's tipi and painted as previously described. His wife is brought over

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<sup>1</sup> A Piegan, named Mud-head, to whom this was read commented as follows:— The scout is selected for his war record and need never have been a pipe owner. He counts four deeds and then sets out. He brings back a stake and a pin, howling like a coyote as he approaches the owner's tipi. A smudge is made before the scout comes inside. After he reports, the stake and pin are painted red, pine needles chewed and spit upon them, to induce sound sleep in their victim. When they set out with the pipe, one who has entered an enemy's tipi must lead with the pipe and be the first to go in. He need not be a pipe-man.

by the women and painted by the owner's wife. The owner then puts them to bed laying each down with four movements, puts the pipe between them, covers them with a robe and chewing sweet pine needles, spits upon the bed. The victim and his wife must not move until morning.

In the morning, the owner goes to the bed and sings a song, ("you get up — we smoke") then spits sweet pine over them four times and assists them to rise. This should be repeated for four nights, but is often greatly abbreviated.

The chief difference between this and other transfers is to be found in the preliminary ceremonies, for when once in the owner's tipi and the bundle opened, the proceeding is the same for all cases. However, at the close of the fourth day in the transfer when the bundle is wrapped up for the first time, a special ceremony may be noted. A man with a war record is called in to officiate. The purchaser and his wife rest on their knees facing the pipe, while he takes it up, recounts four deeds and then holds the pipe to their backs. He receives a horse for this service. The bundle is then wrapped and taken outside to be hung on the tripod, but before actually hung four more deeds are counted for which another horse is required. This closes the formal transfer.

There remains an interesting procedure the significance of which is by no means clear. The idea seems to be that in becoming a pipe-man the purchaser gives up all his rights to perform even the ordinary functions of life. We must understand that many of the industrial arts as well as ceremonial acts among these people were restricted so that a transfer of right to perform the same was necessary, this being little more than an extreme application of the transfer conception of power previously discussed. Thus when the owner is aroused in the morning after having been put to bed with the pipe, he must do nothing for himself. His food is brought, cut, and the first four bits placed in his mouth, after which he may eat slowly leaving nothing on the plate. Water is given in the same manner. If he must leave the tipi, he is conducted by the officiating pipe-man. His wife is cared for by the officiator's wife. This continues during the four days or until the bundle is wrapped. Further, he may not take any other kinds of food until having the right conferred by a pipe-man and with all food must be very moderate and cautious. We observed a young visiting Indian and his father as guests in a tipi. When food was set out the elder admonished his son that as he was now a pipe-man the right to eat some of the food had not been conferred upon him and that he must still be helped and pass most of the dishes with a mere taste. At the transfer, the purchaser is stripped of his clothes and provided with others at the hands of the owner. He is dressed by a pipe-man who confers the right to put on and to wear clothes.

A robe, painted red from the girdle up and an eagle's foot in each lower corner, is likewise conferred. The wife is similarly cared for by the officiating women. The first steps in walking, running, leaping, stepping over holes in the road, over dogs, shooting, butchering, bathing, etc. must be conferred. In all such there are songs to which four initial movements are made. The rope and the whip in the pipe bundle outfit are to be used only when the right to mount and ride are conferred; should they be used otherwise, the horse will go lame or throw his rider. Thus, a Piegan pipe-man said that when recently conferring these rights on a purchaser he forgot the gallop and upon his very first ride to the agency, the purchaser's horse became so lame in the hips that he was abandoned on the road. While these procedures apply in theory, at least, to every act, special stress is laid upon eating and riding; hence the whip and bowl in the accessories to the bundle.

Some observers see an initiation in this. We have discussed this point at some length with various pipe-men, the result being our opinion that the only idea now entertained is that these are of the same class as the other restrictions imposed by the bundle, all to be considered as sacrifices. Yet perhaps first in the minds of all is the knowledge that such transactions are a source of large fees to pipe-men. If this is set down as an initiation it must be taken as an integral part of all transfer proceedings.

A woman cannot own a pipe-bundle; but if the wife of an owner she has a definite relation to it as has been indicated throughout the preceding discussion. Also, any woman as well as any man may definitely own some minor object in the bundle, as the owl skin, the whistle, etc., but not the pipe. Such an object remains in the bundle, but its owner is present at the ceremony and dances with it at the proper place in the ritual. When the bundle is transferred, the ownership may be retained or transferred by the proper payments. Objects not in the bundle as the whip, rope, smudge stick, bowl, and drum may be sold and carried away by the purchaser. The owner of the bundle replaces them with certain simple ceremonies. All such purchases are analogous to the purchase of the whole bundle, prompted by a dream, religious zeal, or the result of a vow and consummated in a simple but similar manner.

*Varieties of Bundles.* To avoid confusion in future investigation and in reading Blackfoot literature, it seems well to make clear that there are several varieties of pipe bundles. In general, it may be said that the pipe-men were the owners of bundles of the type we have just described of which there are a number among each division. As a rule, each bundle has some minor individualities that serve as distinctions, but the ritual is in all essential features the same. A bundle similar to this type and generally



considered as of its class is, however, said to be fundamentally different in its ritual. It is spoken of as the "eastern pipe" and regarded as very old.

Two special pipes were owned by members of the catchers society, which are still regarded as very powerful medicines. They are spoken of as the black-covered-pipes. The stems are said to be covered with eagle plumes and decorated with four hanging bunches of eagle tail feathers.

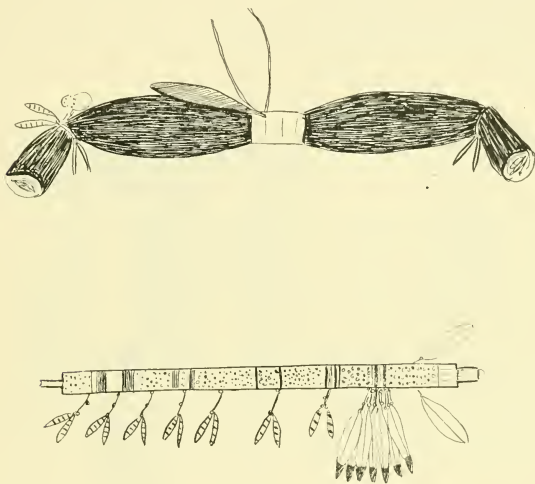


Fig. 23. The Black-covered Pipe Bundle and the Pipe it Contains, from a drawing by Tom Kiyo.

The bundle is small and instead of being hung on a tripod is fastened to the end of a tipi pole. (Fig. 23.) The mode of transfer differs from that of the regular pipe.

There is a small pipe among the Blood, regarded as very powerful in war. It has four songs, one of which is a typical medicine-pipe song while the others are quite different. In the presence of the enemy this pipe was smoked by the party carrying it, the songs sung, and the pipe tied in the owner's hair.<sup>1</sup> The first Blood to own it, received it by transfer from a North Blackfoot. Recently (1903) it changed hands for six horses and other property.

<sup>1</sup> The interesting point in this connection is that the Dakota had similar pipes for the same purpose.



Another small pipe recently transferred to a Piegan by a Blood is about twelve inches long with the fan of feathers and other decorations in corresponding scale. It is kept in a cylindrical rawhide case.<sup>1</sup> A headdress of white buffalo is used with it and in battle the owner tied the unwrapped pipe crosswise on this headdress. The ritual has but two songs. This bundle seems to be a war medicine.

The collection contains a small pipe bundle in a poke of blue cloth. The stem is divided into three sections by two broad beaded bands. The foundations of these sections are fringes of white weasel and at each end



Fig. 24 (50.1-1078). A Medicine-pipe.

are bunches of eagle tail feathers and bells. Two ducks, two feathers, and a paint bag were with the bundle. This, also, seems to have been a war pipe.

An unusual pipe is shown in Fig. 24. On its middle is the head of a duck. It bears pendants of feathers and hair. No information was secured.

One pipe bundle is attributed to the Arapaho, or the "Southern Gros Ventre" in Blackfoot nomenclature. The following is from Mr. Duvall's notes:—

The 'Southern Gros Ventre' (Arapaho) medicine-pipe has seven songs that really belong to it. Three-bears says that there are eight songs.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 5, 79.

Shorty says that many of the real medicine-pipe songs were added afterwards. The pipe known as the old medicine-pipe which we still have, is supposed to be the one given by the thunder bird. It is said to be very old and powerful. Once, Black-coming-over-the-hill, who owned the pipe then, had it with him while on the warpath with some other men. The war party, who were Piegan, were surrounded by the enemy while they were in a pit they had dug. The enemy made a fire to burn the Piegan out of their pit. The man who owned the pipe, took it out of its wrappings and prayed. A heavy rainstorm came up and extinguished the fire, caused the enemy to run for shelter, and thus they made their escape through the power of the medicine-pipe.

New-Breast gives the following:—"The Southern Gros Ventre pipe had originally but a few songs. Some say but eight. Nowadays, the regular medicine-pipe songs have been added. Its transfer is somewhat different, however. It is opened sometimes during the camp circle and while the owner dances along with the stem, others dance behind in single file. This pipe is said to have come from the Arapaho many years ago and to have been owned by Piegan ever since. It was transferred a few days ago from James-big-top to Three-calf, White-grass officiating. They first made a sweat house for which ceremony Three-calf gave a good horse. Later on the same day the bundle was transferred, Three-calf giving several horses, a saddle, a gun, a pile of quilts and blankets. A steer was killed, half of which was served as the feast. The other half was kept to use in the ceremony giving him the right to butcher (p. 158) and went as a fee to the officiator. Four drums were used and two men each recounted two war deeds before the drums were sounded."

"Another medicine-pipe, known as the otter-carrying-strap came from the Sarsi and is very different from other medicine-pipes. It was used more in war than otherwise. The owner of this medicine-pipe always took the lead when on the warpath or when trying to overtake the enemy. This pipe was used when the Piegan killed the Assiniboine chief, White-dog, near the Sweet Grass Hills. While the Piegan war party was on White-dog's trail, the man who carried the medicine-pipe made medicine with it. As White-dog had a good start with the stolen horses the Piegan despaired of overtaking him, but through the power of the medicine-pipe they did, and killed him. This pipe was not in a bundle like the others but was wrapped in some cloth and had a cover of red flannel and a carrying strap of otter-skin with brass buttons sewed to it. The stem had four songs different from other medicine-pipes. They also sang the real medicine-pipe songs. On one end of it was a small buckskin bag of medicine to be used in doctoring a tired horse. On the other end hung a bunch of feathers. It is said that a Sarsi got this pipe from the buffalo through a dream. The pipe was buried

with its owner. Sitting-curled-around-weasel, many years ago, and was never made up again."

Another bundle was said to contain a medicine-pipe stem, two ordinary pipes, a loon, an owl, a deerskin, a muskrat, a cap of goatskin, a whistle, a rattle, some ducks, a wildcat, and many birds. In its ritual there were seven songs for each of the following: the smudge, undoing the bundle, the pipe, the cap, the buffalo, the owl, the loon, the antelope, the muskrat, white swan, the ducks, the shell necklace, the horse, and the bear.

There was another very powerful medicine-pipe owned by Little-antelope. The owner carried it with him when on the warpath. He could foretell when they were about to meet the enemy. One time when the owner was going along with his men he suddenly stopped and told them to lie down as the enemy was near. They all lay down and not long after two Snake Indians came up. The Snake did not see the Piegan and rode right up to them. The Piegan killed them and took their guns. The pipe had four birds tied to the stem, and feathers hanging from it. Near the mouthpiece was fastened a bunch of owl feathers. This pipe is also lost. It is thought one of its owners was killed with it. It was described as having four birds' heads fastened along the top, while a row of feathers hung from below.

*Pipe Lore.* Many interesting tales are told of particular pipes and of these a sample or two may not come amiss. It is said of one rather distinguished pipe-man that many years ago he had a dream in which he was ordered to purchase a certain pipe. The transfer cost him thirty-seven good horses and other valuable property. After this he had another dream in which he was assured that since he had made so great a sacrifice he would always prosper as long as he kept it.

A pipe bundle came into the hands of a distinguished chief. After the transfer it was discovered that for many years its acquisition had been followed by the death of one or more of the purchaser's children. Thereupon the chief, having no young children to die, decided to keep the pipe bundle, but never permitted it to be opened. At his death a few years ago, a young man had it transferred to himself.

Several years ago a Blood Indian was ordered in a dream to sell his bundle to a white man. So he set out to find a purchaser. His people were bitterly opposed to this, but as it was a dream they had no grounds for open opposition. At last, an Indian approached the owner in the ceremonial way, making its transfer to himself obligatory. Thus the bundle was saved for the people.

*Origins.* We may now give some attention to the historical origins of these bundles. The mythical origins are clearly reflected in the ritual and

the narratives. While these are important in determining the functions of the ceremony they cannot be taken as data for the historical origin. Unfortunately, this origin can be little more than inferred from comparative data. The matter of fact traditions are that the first bundle to come among the people was the original and the typical and that all such bundles not otherwise accounted for originated with it.<sup>1</sup> Pipe bundles, and for that matter all others, may be constructed by an experienced pipe-man. He usually awaits a dream or other supernatural sanction. 'Then he patiently gathers the materials at great personal expense. When all is ready he proceeds with the dressing of the pipe and the preparation of the bundle. Each movement calls for prayers, songs, and offerings to give the bundle the true character. We received definite knowledge of but one bundle so constructed in recent years, all the others seem to be old. Naturally, it takes such a bundle many years to remove the general suspicion that all may not be right with it. Sometimes a bundle is buried with its owner in which case a pipe-man who has officiated at its ceremonies may reconstruct it for his own use and eventual transfer.

There are traditions with certain pipes that they come from foreign lands. Thus it is said that one bundle was received from the Arapaho and with it came some new songs that have since become a part of the regular ritual.<sup>2</sup> Another pipe known as the eastern pipe and different from the others, is attributed to a far southeastern tribe. In brief, a Piegan led a war party far to the southeast past many tribes they did not recognize. At last they visited a village. The chief took a fancy to the Piegan leader and presented him with this pipe bundle and taught him the ritual. This may be a myth but there are many circumstantial incidents to support it. So far, we have failed to secure the ritual for this pipe bundle.

Some of the Piegan pipes were captured from the Gros Ventre but as these were in every respect similar to their own, the Piegan consider them as having been acquired from their own people, during the period when the two tribes were in close contact. Such a pipe was considered as the owner's and gave him a right to the ritual after the regular transfer ceremony at the hands of an experienced pipe-man, unless he was already such a man. It is said that a Piegan pipe was once captured by a Crow, to whom the ritual was later transferred by a visiting Blackfoot pipe-man.

An aged Piegan states that he remembers a time when there were but three medicine-pipes among his people; the thunder pipe, the Southern

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<sup>1</sup> The Blood claim one of their pipes as original as it is the only one whose origin is unknown in tradition.

<sup>2</sup> One very able Piegan claims that the whole ceremony came with one original pipe from the Southern Gros Ventre (Arapaho) by transfer and that since that time pipe-men have added their dreams to the ritual, eventually producing the present type.

Gros Ventre pipe, and the white man's pipe.<sup>1</sup> Most of the pipes now owned came from the Blood and Northern Blackfoot.

One must not expect much consistency among the Blackfoot as to mythical origins for these bundles, yet they are fairly agreed that the pipe proper was first handed down by the thunder. Since that time, however, many pipes have been given in dreams by other beings and the usual assumption is that the primary bundle originated with the thunder; the secondary, with the immediate transmitter. Thus, we have a narrative recorded by Mr. Duvall which seems to account for many important secondary features:—

A girl who had a bear for a lover would take food with her to give to the bear when she went into the brush for wood. She always went with another girl but the other girl did not know anything about this. Since she always took food with her when she went for wood, her mother grew suspicious of her. She followed her one day and saw her daughter playing with a bear. The girl and the bear did not see her so she went home and told her husband what her daughter had been doing in the brush. When the girl came home, her father said to her, "Why do you have a bear lover when you could marry some nice young man from the camps?" This made the girl feel very bad for she was very much in love with the bear and did not care to part with him. She said to her father, "Why do you talk about the bear? I like him very much. The bear is going to give you a medicine-pipe." When the father heard this he was much pleased and said no more to the girl.

After this, the girl made frequent visits to the bear. One day, the bear gave her a pipe bundle the outer covering of which was a bearskin. The bear taught the girl the use of the pipe and told her to give it to her father. The girl gave the pipe bundle to her father and taught him the ceremony connected with it. That is why medicine-pipes have bearskin covers. This also allows the medicine-pipe men to force anyone to buy the pipe bundle just as they do when a pipe bundle is forced on a man when he is asleep.

The bear also told the girl that no one should sit in the father's place in the tipi, nor must anyone sit where a bear has been sitting. If anyone does this, he will have sores or scabs on his buttocks. A medicineman must never sit on the bare ground, if he should sit on the ground without a blanket or robe under him he will have bad sores on his buttocks. That is why all medicine-pipe owners are afraid to do so nowadays. The word bear must never be mentioned in a tipi where there is a medicine-pipe bundle, nor should the medicine-pipe man ever say it. If anyone should say the word the medicine-pipe owner will have bad dreams, or dreams of impending danger. A medicine-pipe owner must never walk in the tracks of a bear, if he does his foot will be sore. Ever since the bear gave the pipe bundle they have used the bear songs, and a bearskin has been used for a cover. The reason why all medicine-pipe men hold a pipe with both hands when it is first handed to them is because the bear generally catches things with both paws. Even if a medicine-pipe owner is handed a common pipe he grasps it with both hands and then smokes it. In handing

<sup>1</sup> This pipe was said to have come from a white man by the name of Wolf-running who lived with the Piegan. He got it from some eastern tribe. At least, on his return from a journey to the east he presented the pipe to a head-man. The bundle contains in addition to the usual series, an iron rattle and the skin of a rooster.

him a pipe the stem or mouthpiece is always pointed towards him. While others may only smoke a pipe passed to them from the left, medicine-pipe men may smoke one handed either from the left or the right.

It is at least clear that the thunder<sup>1</sup> and the bear with all the ceremonial concepts thereto form the hub of this ceremonial and to some extent offer a key to its interpretation.

*Comparative Notes.* It has been reported that the Sarsi have pipe bundles of the precise Blackfoot type. The Gros Ventre at Fort Belknap are credited with several pipe bundles of which Kroeber found three, many others having been buried with their last owners.<sup>2</sup> The vow of the sick to open the bundle, the description of the stems, the tripod support, the fear of dogs on the part of owners, the manner of wearing the hair, the wrappings of calico, all serve to identify these pipes with those of the Blackfoot. According to some fragmentary information by Curtis,<sup>3</sup> one of the Gros Ventre pipes originated as a gift from the thunder, the other was said to have been purchased from the Northern Blackfoot. The writer saw one of these bundles opened, the ceremony being generally like that of the Piegan.

Mackenzie<sup>4</sup> describes a pipe ceremony among the Western Cree which agrees in the main with the more complete statements of Kane:—"I took an elaborate sketch of a pipe-stem carrier with his medicine pipe-stem. The pipe-stem carrier is elected every four years by the band of the whole tribe to which he belongs, and is not allowed to retain the distinction beyond that period, all being eligible for the situation who have sufficient means to pay for it. But the expense is considerable, as the new officer elect has to pay his predecessor for the emblems of his dignity, which frequently are valued at from fifteen to twenty horses. Should he not possess sufficient means, his friends usually make up the deficiency, otherwise the office would in many cases be declined. It is, however, compulsory upon the person elected to serve if he can pay. The official insignia of the pipe-stem carrier are numerous, consisting of a highly ornamental skin tent, in which he is always expected to reside; a bear's skin upon which the pipe-stem is to be exposed to view when any circumstance requires it to be taken out from its manifold coverings, in which it is usually wrapped up, such as a council of war, or a medicine pipe-stem dance, or on a quarrel taking place in the tribe, to settle which the medicine-man opens it for the adverse parties to smoke out of,—their superstitions leading them to fear a refusal

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, 89.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 1, 272.

<sup>3</sup> Curtis, Vol. 5, 122.

<sup>4</sup> Mackenzie, *ci.*



of the reconciling ceremony, lest some calamity should be inflicted on them by the Great Spirit for their presumption;—a medicine rattle, which is employed in their medicine dances, and a wooden bowl, from which the dignitary always takes his food,—this he always carried about his person, sometimes in his hand, and often on his head;—besides numerous small articles.”<sup>1</sup>

“A pipe-stem carrier always sits on the right side of his lodge as you enter, and it is considered a great mark of disrespect to him if you pass between him and the fire, which always occupies the centre of the lodge. He must not condescend to cut his own meat, but it is always cut for him by one of his wives, of whom he usually has five or six, and placed in his medicine bowl, which, as before said, he has always with him. One of the greatest inconveniences attached to the office, particularly to an Indian, who has always innumerable parasitical insects infesting his person, is, that the pipe-stem carrier dares not scratch his head without compromising his dignity, without the intervention of a stick, which he always carries for that purpose. The pipe-stem, enclosed in its wrappers, always hangs in a large bag, when they can procure it, of party-coloured woollen cloth, on the outside of the lodge, and is never taken inside either by night or by day, nor allowed to be uncovered when any woman is present.”<sup>2</sup>

Accompanying this description is a sketch of the Cree chief holding up the decorated pipestem. It appears from the text that this Indian had in his tipi eleven pipe bundles, most of which had been borrowed for a war expedition. Excepting the restrictions as to women and the four year transfer, these quotations and the further descriptions of Kane hold for the Blackfoot. We have previously noted contradictory statements of Blackfoot informants, some holding that the pipe should be transferred every four years; thus, what appears contradictory may be due to two kinds of pipe bundles, or to the knowledge that those obtained from the Cree carried with them such obligations.

We have not found evidence of such pipe bundles among the Assiniboine. The writer observed a bundle of the Blackfoot type in the hands of a medicineman from that tribe at Fort Belknap; but this may have been acquired from the Gros Ventre.

For the Teton we have an interesting pipe described by Clark<sup>3</sup> as having been presented by a woman, apparently the only pipe bundle owned in the tribe. From the Curtis photograph it appears that the bundle is hung from

<sup>1</sup> Kane, 397.

<sup>2</sup> Kane, 399.

<sup>3</sup> Clark, 89, also Dorsey, (a), 326; Wissler, (b), 202. In some particulars there is a correspondence between these myths and a Blood account, Vol. 2, 90.



a tripod in the Blackfoot fashion; in one account the woman and the pipe were carried on a blanket. The bundle is in the hands of a single individual. On the whole, what meager information we have of it, strongly suggests the Blackfoot type.

The Arapaho have a pipe, known as the "flat pipe"<sup>1</sup> which holds a place analogous to the Teton pipe. There is here a considerable bundle, supported by four sticks (like the tripod of the Blackfoot). The pipe is described as a very plain ordinary affair, but bearing many wrappings of cloth. As among the Cree, the owner, or keeper, has a special decorated tent. In Curtis' notes on the Teton pipe there is an implied relation to the sun dance, and with the Arapaho this pipe and its keeper play an important rôle, being intimately connected with the tribal origin myth. The Gros Ventre also had a flat pipe.<sup>2</sup> The Cheyenne appear to have a pipe bundle something like that of the Arapaho.<sup>3</sup>

This is as far as we can trace the Blackfoot type of bundle. That it will be found among the Crow and Flathead is probable, but so far specific information has not come to our notice. As the data stand, this type shows strong development among the Blackfoot; but it is probable that equally complete information from other tribes would minimize this difference.

There is another type of pipe ceremony, rather fully described by Miss Fletcher under the name of hako.<sup>4</sup> In addition to this we have some notes on the Dakota ceremony by Curtis<sup>5</sup> and a much more complete study for the Teton in an unpublished manuscript by Dr. J. R. Walker. In the Teton ceremony a pair of pipestems and an ear of corn play a conspicuous part, but so far as we can make out there is no distinct bundle in which all these objects are kept. Further, the ceremony is in the nature of an adoption, those for whose benefit it is given coming into a relationship somewhat like that of father and son. This relationship is strongly reflected in the Pawnee hako and doubtless holds for the Omaha and Ponca. From a statement of Clark we infer the Arikara to have this ceremony<sup>6</sup> and from certain sketches of Catlin that it was known to the other village tribes.

It is plain that we have here two easily distinguishable types of pipe ceremonies, the medicine-pipe bundle and the hako. That they are distinct is apparent from the fact that the Teton have both. So far as our information goes, the former prevails in the northern plains, the latter in the southern.

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<sup>1</sup> Kroeber, (b), 308.

<sup>2</sup> Kroeber, (a), 272.

<sup>3</sup> Dorsey, (b), 78.

<sup>4</sup> Fletcher, 17 *et seq.*

<sup>5</sup> Curtis, Vol. 3, 71.

<sup>6</sup> Clark, 279.

There is a great deal of literature on the calumet, indicating a wide distribution of the peace-pipe idea and certain formal practices relating thereto; but the connection between these and the ceremonies we have studied is scarcely specific enough to warrant discussion here. The Blackfoot were not ignorant of these customs and even now, often use a pipe in administering an oath or sealing a contract; but this is not the medicine-pipe. It seems probable that the whites themselves may have been responsible for the wide distribution of the peace-pipe custom among the plains tribes. To most students the suggestion of a genetic relation between the calumet and the pipe ceremonies of the Pawnee and the Blackfoot presents itself automatically. We ourselves reacted in this way; but now having some familiarity with the details involved, we doubt if after all there is anything here save an objective analogy. Most certainly every pipe was not a calumet and every smoking ceremony not a calumet ceremony. It is obvious that if we consider ritualistic ceremonies as "constructs," we must expect to find common elements in quite otherwise different wholes. Such must be discounted or properly weighted in genetic enquiry. The burning of tobacco has everywhere made a peculiar appeal to man and it may be seriously asked if the after dinner cigar is not as integrally related to the calumet as it in turn to the Blackfoot pipe bundle.

On the other hand, it is pertinent to inquire into the probable common origin of the hako and the medicine-pipe. The decorations on some Blackfoot pipes suggest those of the hako, but others are quite different. Again, the face painting often used by a Blackfoot pipe owner is like that of the hako,<sup>1</sup> and in other cases like that of the Teton and Arikara. Also, the placing of small particles of food in the mouth of the initiated one and the assumed relation of father and son, are found in each. Yet among the Blackfoot, these are prominent in some other ceremonies, the tendency in all transfers being to speak of the two persons concerned as father and son. Hence, these have little weight here. The main conceptions in the two types of ceremonies are certainly different, from which it seems likely that they had different origins.

#### BEAVER BUNDLES.

We turn now to a series of bundles spoken of as the beaver. These are the bundles par excellence. So far as we know, no other tribe on this continent can boast a bundle approaching half its size. Even the medicine-pipe bundle which is of goodly proportions, is an infant by its side.<sup>2</sup> Its

<sup>1</sup> Fletcher, 233.

<sup>2</sup> See McClintock, 107.

most common name is *kōsksstakjomōpista*, beaver-bundled-up. Those who own such bundles are spoken of as beaver men, but often as *ijō<sup>s</sup>kiniks*, those having the power of the waters. At present, beaver bundles are to be found among all the divisions except the Blood, among whom they have not been particularly popular for a long time. There are, however, a number of Blood men who are fully informed as to the ritual. Among the Piegan, recent years have witnessed a marked revival of interest on the part of the young men, many of whom are industriously studying the rather complicated ritual. The beaver ceremony proper constitutes a kind of nucleus around which are found a number of more or less related ceremonies. The primary ritual seems to be associated with the beaver bundle. A more or less integral part of this is the tobacco planting ceremony, analogous to a similar ceremony among the Crow. The sun dance bundle used in the most sacred part of the sun dance ceremonies is sometimes found in beaver bundles and is everywhere regarded as related in ritualistic origin. Finally, we may mention the Crow-has-waters society, an organization whose practices and origin are usually assigned to conceptions found in the beaver ritual.

*Contents.* The beaver bundle may have varied contents, but the following are regarded as essential: several beaver skins, entire; a pipe; two buffalo ribs; buffalo tail; buffalo hoofs; a digging stick; skins of muskrat, weasel, white gopher, badger, prairie dog, antelope kids, deer kids, mountain goat kids, mountain sheep kids; tail of the lynx or wildcat; scaplocks; skins of loon, yellow-necked blackbird, raven, blackbirds, woodpeckers, sparrows, crow, ducks, and several birds we were unable to identify; buffalo rocks wrapped in wool; wristlets of wildcat claws to be worn by the woman. Among the accessories not kept in the primary bundle may be mentioned sweetgrass and root of the parsnip, used for the smudge, black and red paints, rattles and a rawhide on which to beat them (no drum is used with this ritual), counting sticks used in keeping tally of the months. The contents of the primary bundle are placed between the folds of a buffalo calf robe, resting on the hair side, and the whole wrapped in tanned elkskin painted red. The wrapping may be of buffalo skin, but elk is regarded as the proper wrapping. The strings should be of elkskin. The bundle is kept at the rear of the tipi resting on a parfleche, filled with dried meat, and on a bag of dried berries.

To this composite statement may be added the following Piegan account of a particular bundle:—“Half a buffalo hide is placed on the floor and an elkskin used for the outside covering. The pipestem is tied on the outside of the bundle and the bowl laid near it. The stem is about two and a half

feet long, is covered with eagle plumes, and has seven scalplocks tied at intervals to it. Five forked smudge sticks about three feet in length are tied on outside of the bundle. The rattles, together with all the different paints and fats, are placed in a woven bag close to the bundle. Between the buffalo robe and the bundle is placed the leather on which the rattles are beaten. One smudge stick with the fork pointing towards the door is placed close to the bundle; sweetgrass is also placed near it. In the mornings and evenings this is used for making the smudge. The bundle is made up in the following order: elkskin, beaver skin, then muskrat, loon, badger, mink, gopher, wildcat tail, eagle and raven feathers, weasel skin, dog tail, buffalo hoofs, scalplocks, and wristlets, white prairie chicken, yellow-necked blackbird, mud hens or hell divers, hawk, white swan, ten sparrows, snow bird, mouse, buffalo rock wrapped in a skin, roulette or gambling wheel, and buffalo wool. During the summer and spring sweetgrass is used for the smudge; in winter, parsnip is used." The informant did not see any counting sticks with this bundle but says they used to have them to keep track of the days and months in the year.

A woman added the following:—"A blanket is spread on the ground at the rear of the tipi and a parfleche is placed on this and then the beaver bundle. These parfleche contain berries and dried meat mixed with berries, the food used for ceremonies during the winter and the spring of the year when the thunder is first heard. In the old days, the beaver men never opened their bundles until the spring, but at present they do it at any time."

All the different skins and birds are wrapped in elkskin and tied with elk thongs. The rawhide on which the rattles are beaten is placed under the bundle, but not in it nor tied to it. The rattles are kept in a Nez Percé bag, secured by inter-tribal trade.

One of the oldest bundles is that now owned by Tom Kiyo. It is said, he has owned it since Head-carrier's death about ten years ago, who was said to have been one hundred eleven years old when he died. The things that go with the bundle are: four smudge sticks, fourteen rattles, two decorated pipes and stems, one with a straight bowl and the other with the ordinary pipe bowl (Fig. 25), a mountain goatskin used for the cover, bag for keeping rattles, bag with buffalo hoofs and paint, a buffalo hide used as a cover, a buckskin string, two beaver skins, an otterskin, mink skin, four muskrats, eight short sticks about six inches long which beavers have chewed (these sticks are used in the ceremony together with the songs for them), three loons, one white swan, two ducks, one rail, one badger skin, four lynx tails, one prairie dog, three buffalo rocks, one black-tailed deer-skin, two ravens and some raven feathers, four weasel skins, brown and white. There are also two wall creepers (one of these is black), two wood-

peckers, one blackbird, one dog tail for which there is a song, one buffalo tail fan, a white prairie chicken, two grouse, one "bear's bone," in the shape of a bear. It is said that this carving came from Alaska and was made by the Indians there and was added to the bundle only a few years since. There are also two magpie feathers, a hair lock, three eagle tail feathers, two rat skins, one mouse skin, one mountain squirrel, tobacco seed, two tobacco pouches, one tobacco board and sticks used to clean

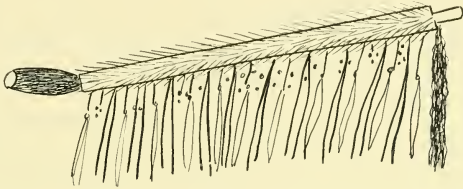


Fig. 25. A Straight-pipe in a Beaver Bundle, drawn by Tom Kiyo.

pipes, one night hawk, and tobacco to be kept in the bundle, black paint, Indian red paint, seventh paint, and some fat used with the paint. The smudge is made with sweetgrass and a kind of fungus which grows on trees in the far north. It also contains a large turnip and three pairs of wristlets. The wristlet is made of a buckskin string with a blue bead at each end. In the bundle are also two whistles, made of bones of the loon. There are two blankets, painted red, one of these is for the man and the other for his wife.

*The Owner.* Those who own as well as those who have owned a bundle are spoken of as beaver men. They do not constitute a society. They are considered skillful in forecasting the weather. They are credited with good memories (perhaps because the ritual is so long) and formerly kept count of the days and months. For this purpose sets of sticks were kept in bags. They claim twenty-six days for a moon and four days during which the moon is invisible (dies, or covers itself) making a period of thirty days. It is the duty of each bundle owner to keep tally of the days, also to note signs for forecasting. Anyone wishing to know the time of the year or the probabilities of the weather, can call upon them. In winter, special attention should be given the moon. Thus, if the new moon appears to lean backward, the weather will be mild; if forward, cold; a white circle of clouds around the moon, a warm chinook wind. The sun and many other objects must likewise be watched.

The responsibility and the ownership of a bundle are entirely in the hands of one man. The bundle is kept in the rear of his tipi opposite the door. On a bed of blankets or robes rests a parfleche, containing dried meat and berries, and immediately upon this the bundle. It is not suspended. It is never taken outside, except when the ashes are to be removed from the fireplace and when the camp is to be moved. This, at once, distinguishes it from most other bundles.

The owner must conduct the ceremony or provide a leader when a person has made a vow to open the bundle. He must open it in the spring at tobacco-planting time and again at the harvest when tobacco is put into it (compare medicine-pipe, 147). At no other time is it opened, except for the transfer. Some informants claim that formerly the bundle was opened at each new moon.

The owner's wife (the head wife, if more than one) takes care of the bundle and makes the smudge, morning, noon, and night. In the ceremony she leads the women in the evolutions and songs. Her presence is necessary throughout.

In return for the inconvenience and expense of having a bundle, the owner enjoys a certain prestige. It takes him many years to learn the entire ritual but, he in turn, teaches what he knows to others, receiving for this, horses and other property. To a lesser degree his wife profits by instructing other women. When the bundle is opened to a vow, the owner receives presents. After he ceases to own a bundle, he may continue to instruct and to lead the ceremony for others, for which he receives presents. Perhaps over and above these material benefits is the general good fortune believed to attend the owner and his family. Further, all seem to find the highest kind of pleasure in the study of the ritual. It has an aesthetic charm that makes the strongest kind of an appeal. The writer knows English-speaking Indians who have spoken to him of their efforts to master the ritual, showing the very deepest feeling. With many it becomes the ruling passion.

The man and his family must observe a number of taboos, some of which we enumerate. He must set food before everyone visiting his tipi; should a caller ask for food, the owner must set out all he has in the place and the guest must eat it at one sitting. If he succeed, the owner must pay a forfeit; if he fail, he pays. If a smoke is asked for, the owner plies the guest with eight or more pipes, making him ill. If the owner comes up to the bank of a stream, he cannot turn back but must cross there; he must not show fear of water in any form. He is supposed to have power over the water. No one must kick on the ear poles of the tipi, if they do in a ceremony the whole must cease, or all engaged stop and turn entirely around,



then proceed.<sup>1</sup> The sides of the tipi must not be raised and cooking must never be done outside. No matter how hot the weather, this must be done. When a bundle owner comes into a tipi and sits down he is not supposed to move from that place. He must not be poked with the fingers as in asking a person to move over. He must not cut his hair when in mourning. When the pipe passes him in smoking, he may smoke each time. When another owner comes to the tipi, a smudge should be made so that songs may be sung, if it is found desirable. He must not beat his wife without singing the appropriate song; she has a defense song, if she can sing that she is safe. Otherwise, she cannot escape, as running away will do no good. When a bundle owner has a dream he goes to another owner and relates it and it is interpreted. He is supposed to remain in his tipi a great part of the time. The genitals of a beaver or wood that has been gnawed by one must never be brought into the tipi, the latter must never be burned. The owner must sit still in the tipi, must not move around. Where he sits is a place of power. He must not go barefooted in the tipi. When he is asleep he cannot be awakened except by singing and then is not to get up until the seventh song is sung. He must not eat the beaver nor any of the birds in the bundle. (The narrator was once up in the mountains and was greatly famished, finally he ventured to eat a grouse. This made him deathly ill.) Fat or tallow must never be broken in the tipi. The owner must never blow the fire. In cases of necessity he may take a pipestem and blow through it. No drums can be used with the bundle and they cannot be kept in the tipi. No one should pass in front of the owner when he is smoking or pass between the fireplace and the bundle when the ceremony is going on. When going to swim, the owner must sing a song and then dive into the water. He must not step on or across a beaver track or den: if this be necessary, he must sing certain songs before doing so. He must not sleep over a moecasin. He must not strike a dog, nor kill any kind of

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<sup>1</sup> Black-bear says that the beaver bundle was first given to a man who camped by St. Mary's Lake. The man's wife was left all alone while he went out hunting, and one day she went to get a pail of water and was taken in by the beavers. When the man returned he could not find his wife, but he saw her tracks and the water pail by the river and thought that perhaps she had returned to her people, so he stayed in his tipi and was very lonesome. One night he heard some people singing and when he looked up he saw his wife and many men entering his tipi. His wife told him that these men had come to give him the beaver bundle. The beaver men then taught the man the songs and all about the ceremony. Towards daylight someone outside kicked one of the lodge poles and the beaver men all turned once around in their seats and kept on singing. Once more the pole was kicked and again the men turned about in their seats. The fourth time the pole was kicked the beaver men stopped and went out and were beavers again and went into the water. This is why the beaver ceremonies are as they are nowadays. When people wish the performers to stop they kick on one of the lodge poles four times and the ceremony will end at once, but at the first three kicks they only turn about in their seats. The beaver men came to this man's tipi four nights and after they had taught him the songs, he went back to his people and had a beaver ceremony every new moon.



bird or animal. If he loan property, he cannot take it again. In passing the pipe, it must be held in front of the beaver man, the bowl resting on the ground.

The ordinary sweat house is used for the owners and in the ceremony. There is no certain number of stones and the hole is circular, the dirt from which is placed on the west side of the sweat house. Before the hot stones are passed inside, a smudge of sweetgrass is made between the hole and the rear of the house; after the stones are in the hole another smudge is made on them. Just before the stones are put into the hole, a pipe is handed in and one of the men prays, holding it toward the sun and again toward the ground. Then another lights it and it is smoked around until burned out when it is passed out and laid on the ground to the west with the stem toward the north. The men keep their eyes shut while the covers are down. During each of the four periods in which the sweat house is closed, four songs from the beaver ritual are sung. Upon coming out, they wait until dried off and then go into the cold water.

The beaver bundle is taken to the sweat house and laid against the west side, where it remains until the men return to their tipi. The hot stones are manipulated in an interesting manner. First, four are brought in one by one and arranged at the four corners around the hole, while the fifth is placed in the center. Then the other stones are piled in. Before the ceremony the pipe, smudge stick, etc. are laid on top, ready to be passed in when needed. The men enter by the east door, but those who own beaver bundles pass their clothes out at the west and emerge there also. In summer time sweetgrass is used for the sweat house smudge; in winter, the root of the parsnip.

*The Transfer.* A man may vow to purchase a beaver bundle, in which case the owner has no option. On the other hand, the purchase may be arranged voluntarily. At the formal transfer, the ritual is demonstrated as far as possible, four days and nights being required to complete it. In the normal order of events the ex-owner continues to instruct the purchaser for an indefinite period.

Among the special ceremonies at this time, mention may be made of a curious drawing of counting sticks. The purchaser and his women draw out one stick for each ten years they hope to live. Thus, our informant once bought a beaver bundle when he drew out ten sticks, his wife, nine, and his sister eight.

As with the medicine-pipe, the purchaser must be given the right to eat, dress, ride, etc. One of his horses must be painted and devoted to bearing the travois for transporting the bundle. (It must never have been carried

otherwise, though wagons are now used.) A special horse for the purchaser and one for his wife must also be selected and painted. These are then sacred to these purposes and the one for the bundle must never transport fresh meat.

One informant says that there is no stated period that a man must keep a bundle. If he is interested in learning the ritual, he will keep up his studies long after he has sold out. No one man is ever able to learn the entire ritual. Fees are expected for all instruction.

*Part Ownership.* While the contents of a bundle must be kept intact, some of the minor parts may be owned by others. Thus a man selling may retain the ownership of certain birds or animals; or one may vow to purchase one or more parts of a bundle. In transferring these parts, the bundle is opened and the whole ceremony performed. The part owner then takes a place in all ceremonies and when the proper point in the ritual is reached he dances with his bird, etc., leading in the songs relating thereto. Such part owners have no obligations in the care of the bundle. They are not required to sell out when the bundle changes hands. Yet, they may in time come to a considerable knowledge of the ritual and ultimately be considered beaver men, without having ever owned a bundle. There seems to be a transition in progress, since at the present day it is chiefly young men who are interested in the beaver, whereas formerly only old men owned bundles. Further, a part owner is now sometimes permitted to take out the objects belonging to him and care for them at home; yet they do not lose their connection and may be returned at any time. The tendency now is to consider all part owners as beaver men.

*Function.* The beaver bundle seems to serve general rather than specific purposes. Yet, anyone in trouble may make a vow to give a "berry soup," or feast, for the beaver men. At the proper time a horse, blankets, and other property are given to the owner of a bundle, who carries the ceremony, at least, through the opening of the bundle. The bundle was not carried to war. There was no thunder ceremony as for the pipe, but it seems to have been opened at tobacco planting time and again at the tobacco harvest. Likewise, the calling of the buffalo seems to have been one of its functions. Furthermore, its ritual is connected with the sun dance bundle, in whose ceremonies it performs an important part.

*Ritual.* The ritual for this bundle was not recorded in full, but in addition to observing the ceremony a number of songs were taken with the phonograph. As with the preceding, the ceremony consists of opening

the bundle and dancing with some of the contents. The following is the statement of a Piegan as to the order of procedure in the ceremony: At the beginning of the ceremony, after the opening songs, a song is sung and a smudge made. After singing seven songs a smudge is made. This is repeated three times. After the second seven songs are sung, the bundle is taken from the rear of the tipi; during the third seven songs it is moved slowly toward the center of the tipi; and during the fourth it is placed in its proper position. The words of the songs are: "Buffalo I take, it is powerful, powerful he starts;" another song is; "Buffalo I take." When this is sung the strings of the bundle and those on the bags containing the rattles are untied. Another song is sung while the smudge is made, the words: "Buffalo I take." As the forked smudge sticks are taken up, they sing: "I am looking for forked sticks, it is powerful, I take it." Another song is then sung: "Buffalo I take." A smudge is made with the wool of the buffalo and they sing: "Old woman is coming in, old man is coming in, man is coming in, morningstar is coming in." Still another song is: "Old man looking for smudge stick, old woman looking for smudge stick and finds it powerful." Again they sing: "I am looking for earth or ground. I have found where to sit. Where I sit is natojiwa."

Another smudge is made and the singing ceases for a while. Seven more songs are sung and another smudge is made. After singing seven songs the rattles are taken up, held over the smudge, and then beaten on the leather. Another smudge is made, the pipe is taken out of the bundle, they dance with it and sing seven songs belonging to the pipe. A smudge is made and seven songs sung for the elkskin cover and then another smudge is made and seven songs sung for the calfskin. A song is sung and a smudge made and the bundle is opened. The men imitate buffalo, hooking the covers off the bundle with the fingers. After this four songs are sung for the beaver skins and at the fifth they are taken out of the bundle and different motions made with them. Then they sing for the red paint with which they paint all the children and people present. The next song is for the muskrat which is taken out; while singing another song, the woman takes the muskrat skin, going through different motions with it. Another smudge is made, seven songs are sung for the otterskin with which they dance. Then songs are sung for different objects in the bundle as follows: seven for the otterskin, four for the loon skin, five for badger skin, five for wildcat tail, four for eagle tail feathers, three for the digging-stick, and two for the weasel skin. While singing the following seven songs which are resting songs the people smoke. There are two songs for raven feathers, three for gopher, three for white gopher, three for mountain squirrels, three for prairie dog, four for women's wristlets which consist of buckskin strings, one

for mouse, and seven more songs for beaver skin. Then comes a period of rest. After this the following songs are sung: two for blackbird and the yellow-necked blackbird, four dancing songs for the sparrow, four for lizard, four for buffalo hoofs, five for mud hens, seven for elk, four for dog, one song each for each of the goose family, seven for scalplocks, seven more smoking or resting songs, fourteen songs for the man who planted his tobacco seed on the plains, one song for each kind of prairie chicken, two for bear, one song for each different kind of hawk, seven songs and a dance with mink, two songs for each kind of duck, one song each for coyote and wolf, seven for the tobacco seed, four for the iniskim, or buffalo rocks, one for the roulette, or gambling wheel. Three songs are sung at meal time, prayers are said before eating, and after the meal is over three songs are sung and they dance for the string which is used in tying the bundle. At this time the wife of the beaver man goes to the door of the tipi, kneels and sings a song, keeping time with motions of the head and body. Then she turns toward the door twice and faces the audience twice. Then she rises and turns toward the door twice, faces the audience and then leaves the tipi. As soon as she leaves the rattles are all placed with the handles toward the center. This ends the ceremony.

During the winter in 1911 Mr. Duvall saw a ceremony conducted by Tom Kiyo and made the following report:—

This ceremony took place in a house. The smudge was made in a box fifteen inches square, evenly filled with dirt. A small hill was made in the box to represent the beaver's den. The smudge box was placed a few feet from the wall at the rear nearly opposite the door which faced the east. Directly behind the smudge box, between it and the wall, was placed the beaver bundle with its goatskin cover thrown over it. A smudge stick with the fork pointing towards the door was placed on the north or right side of the smudge box; braided sweetgrass was also placed there.

The director of the ceremony was seated on the right or north side of the smudge box while his two women assistants were seated at the south or left of the bundle, close to the smudge box. The men guests were all seated to his left on the right or north side while the women were seated on the left. The man who tended to the smoking outfit was seated among the other men. The tobacco board, placed on a new piece of calico was given to him. After the ceremony was over, as a fee, the tobacco board, a pouch and some tobacco, some cigarette papers, a pipe, and a knife were all placed before him. Another man, seated nearer the door to the right of it, was given the office of tending the smudge by placing the live coals which he took from the stove on the smudge box. Every time he went to get the smudge stick

he passed to the right of the smudge, took the stick, then to the stove, and placing a live coal between the forks, went around the left of the stove to the smudge box and placed the coal on it. He would also place the stick on the right of the smudge and go around to the south of the stove to return to his place. He did this every time he was called upon to bring fire.

Against the wall on the west of the smudge box a bed and pillow was placed with a folded blanket on it. Here the bundle was to be placed when it was opened. The blanket, after the ceremony, was to be given to the beaver bundle owner as part of his fee for giving the ceremony. A woven bag which contained the rattles was also placed to the right of the bundle. Another bag, not quite as large as the woven bag, had buffalo and moose hoofs in it, which were put in with the rattles. Another bag had two half rawhides in it. These were used for beating time on with the rattles. They were folded many times to make them fit into the bag.

The house was crowded with men, women, and a few children. The men were all on the right side while the women crowded the left side. All the beaver men were given places in the front row next to the director of the ceremony. Since it was late in the forenoon the beaver bundle owners decided not to sing all of their songs as it would take too long. They left out a great many but still the ceremony lasted until sunset.

At the beginning of the ceremony a smudge was made. The director took some of the grass, and holding it over his head, sang as follows: "I am the morningstar. Let us have a sweat house. It is powerful." Then he placed some of the sweetgrass on the fire. Holding one of his hands over the smudge, and placing it to his breast, and over the bundle he sang: "I am the morningstar. I want a fisher skin." He made the receiving sign and sang: "Moon says a different sweat house I wish you to make for me." During this song he would place his hands on the bundle and then on his breast. After making another smudge, he sang another song: "Man says black I want. Man says white I want. Let us have a sweat house." He sang another song, made another smudge, took some of the sweetgrass and holding it up as before, placed it on the fire. Then he held his hand over the smudge, to his breast, and making the receiving sign, he sang: "Old man is coming. He has entered with happiness. He says, make a different sweat house. It is powerful. Old man has come in with happiness. He says let us use the sweat house; it is powerful." The words of the next song were: "Single man is coming in. He says let us have a sweat house." Then he sang: "Old man is coming in. He has entered and taken a seat. He says let us use the sweat house: it is powerful. Morning person is powerfully coming in and powerfully sitting down." Again he sang: "Man is coming and powerfully sitting down. Old woman is coming.

She is standing there. She is powerful. She has entered and has powerfully sat down. She says my medicine is powerful." Then he sang: "Old man is coming in," and made the receiving sign, and sang again: "Old man is coming. He has entered and seats himself. He says my medicines are powerful. I take them." As the director slowly started to raise the goatskin cover from the bundle he sang: "Their robe I take. They are powerful. Old man is coming. He has entered and is powerfully sitting down. He says my medicine is powerful. Their robe, I take, it is powerful." Then another song, and the words were: "Above man is coming in and powerfully sitting down. He says I take it; it is powerfully sitting."

The goatskin, hair side under, was then spread on the blanket where the bundle was to be placed. The next song ran as follows: "Old man says, timber I see. I see it is powerful. I take it." Then he picked up the smudge stick and handed it to the man to get another live coal which meant that another smudge was going to be made.

These songs are called the sweat house songs. In them old man, old woman, and single man, refer to the sun, moon and morningstar. The timber refers to the smudge stick.

After another smudge was made and another song sung, the director held up the bag which contained the two pieces of rawhide and sang: "It is summer. Let others see you." He took out the two pieces of rawhide which were still folded up and holding them in front of him he sang: "Timber I am powerfully standing on; it is powerful," and again made the receiving sign, and sang another song: "When we get up Look at me, I am powerful." Then he sang: "Mountains I am standing on; they are powerful." He began to unfold the rawhide very slowly and sang: "Timber we are running about; it is powerful." Then shaking the rawhide and still singing, "In summer, we are running about; it is powerful. The ground is powerful. We are powerfully sitting down." Then he spread the two pieces on the floor in front of him and the other men who assisted with the singing. The men sat on the edges of the buckskin with the largest part in front of them. All through the ceremony the two women who were to assist sat opposite him, watched carefully and imitated all his motions.

The next song was, "Old man says, I have found my medicines; they are powerful. Old woman is coming. She has entered and is seated. She says my medicine, I want to take; they are powerful. I take them." The next song was: "Old man has come in and is powerfully seated. He says, my medicine. I have found they have given power," then as he says, "H-o-o-o," he makes the receiving sign, and sings another song: "Old woman has come. Her medicine is powerful. I take them. (These words refer to the bundle.) They look well with me" (meaning his bundle became him).



Again he sings: "Old man has come in He says my medicines I take. I carry them on my back, ho-o-o," and made the receiving sign. The next song was as follows: "Old man has come in and is powerfully seated." Then brushing his hand over his head, down his shoulders, and placing both hands on the floor, he sang: "Old woman is sitting and says I have taken my medicine," and touching the bundle with his right hand, he sang: "Those here my medicines, I take them," and again touched the ground with his hands. Then the following were sung: "These medicines I take: above man says sharp points pass on both sides of me; buffalo I take."

Making four passes with their hands to the smudge and the bundle, the women untied the cords. After singing another song, a smudge was made. The director made four passes with his hand to the smudge, his mouth, his nose, and brushing his hand over his head and down his breast, and taking four smudge sticks tied together he sang: "Old man says timber I take; it is powerful." He turned the ends of the four smudge sticks four times towards the smudge. The director and the two women held the sticks vertically. They slightly waved the upper parts of the sticks. Then they were given to one of the women who held them against her head and face and prayed to them. Then the other woman assistant also took the sticks and prayed to them. All the singing ceased during the praying. When finished she handed them to the director of the ceremony who prayed to them and handed them to the man at his left. Thus the sticks went the rounds of all the spectators. Those who did not wish to pray merely brushed one side on their heads and shoulders and then the other, repeating this motion four times. Some prayed aloud and some in a whisper. When those who prayed aloud had finished, all present would make the receiving sign and wish for something. When the sticks finally returned to the director he placed them beside the bundle. Prayer to these sticks is supposed to bring long life.

The next song ran as follows: "In summer, I swim out; it is powerful." Then the director placed his hand on the bundle and the bag of rattles. The two women assistants raised the bundle and swinging it gently, sang: "We are powerfully starting and powerfully standing. We are powerfully sitting." Then the bundle was placed on the goatskin which was west of the smudge box. The man sitting to the left of the director held the bag with rattles. After another song the beaver bundle was raised by the same women, turned about, and again placed in its resting place. Another smudge was made. The director made four passes to the smudge, his mouth, and the bag of rattles. Then he touched the string with which the bag was tied and the man holding it untied the cords. Another song, and he made four passes to the smudge and the bag of rattles and then took out nine rattles, and gave one to each man, keeping one for himself.



The words of the next song were: "Buffalo I am looking for," and all the singers cawed four times: "The wind is our medicine. Raven says powerful dead buffalo I want." During this song the men held the rattles vertically with the ball part resting on the rawhide. They made movements with the right finger and pecked at the rattles with it four times. This represents the raven pecking on a dead buffalo. Then the rattles were laid down. The next song was as follows: "My rattles are powerful," and he made four passes to the smudge and the beaver bundle, to the smudge again, and finally the rattles. Then they all beat time with them on the rawhide and shook them in the air. The next song and they started to beat time while the director blew four times on his bone whistle which hung around his neck from a cord. The two women imitated all his movements during the singing. He made the receiving sign, the women doing the same, and then blew on his whistle four times. Another song, and then the rattles were used during all the rest of the singing.

He placed his hand on the bundle and then made the receiving sign. Then he picked up the smudge stick in his left hand and held it up, curved his right fingers, passed them to the forks of the stick and sang, "I want to make a score or win some enemy." Big-brave arose, took the smudge stick from his hand and waved it over his head as they do when a gun is captured. Then he returned it. This was to represent the wheel gambling game with the Snake Indian, when the Piegan and Snake played the wheel game and the Snake lost his scalp.<sup>1</sup> Any one of the beaver men or guests may thus take the smudge stick. Those who get it are supposed to have luck in war, capture weapons, or obtain property.

The director and the two women, leaned forward over the bundle and went through the movements of dancing while on their knees. While the others sang he blew on his whistle four times, and slowly untied the cords around the bundle. The two decorated pipestems were in a flannel bag tied outside of the main bundle. These pipestems still in their covers were taken from the bundle. The main bundle was well wrapped up and tied with a long buckskin string. When the string was untied, they made four

<sup>1</sup> Later on Scabby-round-robe added the scalplock which he took from a Snake Indian whom he had killed. This is why the pipestem in the beaver bundle has a scalplock tied to it. When the Piegan and the Snake met in the cave they had a wheel game and the Piegan won the Snake's scalp. This is why the people generally speak of their enemies as those with whom they gamble. The wheel with which the Snake and Piegan used to play the game was afterwards given to the beaver bundle owner and the gambling wheel has been in the beaver bundle ever since. This is why the beaver men sing in their ceremonies and say "I want to win some enemy." It refers to the wheel the Piegan and the Snake used. Sometimes they take the forked smudge stick and holding the wheel on the stick throw the stick (without the wheel) down near the door of the tipi. Everyone tries to get the forked stick first because it is considered lucky for the winner. The throwing of the stick represents the wheel game of the Snake and Piegan.

passes with it towards the smudge and placed it by the side of the bundle. The buffalo robe which formed the outer covering was opened with the bundle still resting on it. Then the three different calico wrappings were opened. This last exposed all the birds and the skins in the bundle. The two pipestems, still in their covers, were placed with the birds and skins. Singing and rattling went on, while the bundle was being opened.

Then he took the woman's right hand, made another smudge and sang. He held his hand to the smudge and to his mouth and taking the woman's hand he placed it on the cords tying the pipestems. They untied the string, and passing it four times toward the smudge, placed it near the birds and skins. Both holding to an end of the stem, they pulled it from its covering very slowly. As it was still tied up in some calico the same movements were gone through as with the outer wrapping and then the pipestem was placed with the other things. The covers from the second pipestem were removed in the same way as the first. During all this time the singing continued. Then the director held up the decorated stem and sang as follows: "You will see my pipe which is powerful." Then he laid the stem down.

There was still another long pipestem which was used with the straight bowl during a part of the ceremony. This was wrapped near its mouthpiece with a band of seed beads, a few ribbons hung from the beads. It was a little over two feet long. He took this pipestem and a spotted deerskin bag and made another smudge. With a small leather bag he made four passes toward the smudge and reaching into it took out the straight pipe bowl, holding the stem in his right and the bowl in his left hand. Big-brave told of four war deeds and the bowl was fitted to the stem. Then he handed the pipe to the man attending to the smoking, together with something with which to mix the tobacco. Then, holding a pipe in each hand over his shoulders, and blowing his whistle, he danced backwards and forwards towards the smudge, turning and facing in different directions every time. Meanwhile the women all cheered him. He gave the pipestems to two men who took them and holding them near their faces, prayed to them, and then handed them to the man to the left who also prayed.

As the sacred pipe was filled it was handed to the director who took it with the stem pointing to the east and prayed. Then he gave it to another man to light, but before it could be lighted four war deeds had to be told. Big-brave told four war deeds and struck a match and lighted the pipe while the other man drew on the mouthpiece. The pipe did not draw well and as it went out it had to be lighted again. Some of the men said it was unlucky when the sacred pipe had to be relighted. The pipe was passed around among the men just as a common pipe would be. By this time

the two pipestems which were being passed around the house for all to pray over, had reached him and he took them and placed them with the other things.

A song followed this. The director took a small bag and making four passes with it towards the smudge, took out four sticks about a quarter of an inch in diameter and four inches long and placed them on the west side of the smudge. These sticks had been chewed by beavers and are called the beaver gnawed sticks. Another song was sung, and he and the two women each took a beaver skin and passed them under their robes around their backs which was supposed to represent a live beaver swimming and diving. While they were doing this they went through the motions of dancing. Then they were placed with the other things.

The next song began and four women knelt in front of the smudge, keeping time with their singing. All faced each other, two kneeling on the right and two on the left side. Each woman took one of the short sticks and biting it at the middle, arose. A beaver skin was given to each of the four women who danced with it. During this time the director held a much larger stick wrapped with beaver skin, in his teeth, biting one end of it. The women danced around the stove in single file still holding the sticks in their teeth. They would throw the beaver skins over one shoulder, and then over the other. Then they would hold them with both hands in front, stop and turn around and dance again. When the dance was over each woman went up to the bundle and first making four passes with her stick and skin she placed them among the birds and skins and returned to her place.

At the next song he took two weasel skins and handed them to the two women who took them and kept time with them, though still on their knees, while he kept the third weasel skin to keep time with himself. Then they were placed with the other things. After the next song, he took a bone whistle from among the other things and blew four times on it. The two women arose to dance. He gave each of them a buffalo rock. The women placed the buffalo rocks (iniskim) in the corners of their blankets as they danced around the stove as before. Making four passes with the buffalo rocks the women put them among the other things in the bundle, and returned to their places.

Then he took three feathers and gave them to three women who took them and went through the motions of the dance while they remained seated. Then, holding the feathers close to their faces, they prayed to them, and making four passes to the smudge they placed them with the others. He gave two loons to two of the women, and one to a man sitting on his left, and taking a white swan's head himself, the director and the other

three rose and danced with the birds while the others cheered for them. In dancing, they held the birds in front of them, the two men in the lead, the women following, in single file. The men blew their bone whistles and when they stopped the two women held the birds to their heads and prayed to them. Four passes were made towards the smudge with the birds and they were returned to their places.

For the next song the director took up a roll of Hudson Bay tobacco and after holding it to his breast for a time returned it to its place. He repeated the same movement with two woodpeckers. During the next song, he handed the roll of tobacco and the smudge stick to one of the women to dance with. He and three other women all danced around the stove in single file. At times the dancer would stop, turn completely around, and then continue with the dance. When they stopped dancing the tobacco and the smudge stick were put with the other things. Then he took up a pipe and holding it up, first handed it to a man to his left to pray over. When this man ended his prayer he coughed and all the other men in the house coughed. They said the coughing was to represent the proud feeling of the beaver men. He picked up the night hawk and, holding it to his breast, laid it down and then picked up one of the decorated stems, first with his right and then with his left hand and then laid it down. During the next song, he handed a squirrel skin to one of the men and a chipmunk to one of the women and taking the bag with the straight-bowled pipe in it rose. The two men and five women all danced as before. When they returned to their seats, the skins were replaced but the pipe bag was given to another to pray over before it was put back. For the next song, five women were given a sparrow, a blackbird, two woodpeckers, and another bird, and a white prairie chicken with which to dance. While the women danced with these birds, the director remained in his seat, holding the smudge stick as if it were a tree. He moved a woodpecker up and down the stick as if it were pecking the tree. The birds were returned to the bundle after making four passes with them.

The director picked up the mink skin and blowing four times on his whistle and making four passes to the smudge, held up the skin and shook it. After blowing on his whistle he handed it to one of the men who danced with it. He prayed to the skin first and then danced, blowing on his bone whistle and holding the skin with both hands in front of him. When he finished the others cheered him. He returned the mink skin to the director who prayed over it and laid it down.

The next song was known as the dog song. He picked up a dog's tail, and after shaking it handed it to a man. While the man danced everyone barked and howled in imitation of a dog. The dancer ended with a howl.

For the next, he picked up a buffalo's tail and a feather. He gave one man the feather and a decorated pipestem with which to dance. The man, blowing on his whistle, danced together with five women. The man who danced with the decorated stem was Heavy-gun. One of the ribbons which had some bells tied to it dropped from the pipestem where it was tied. This was said to be very unlucky. When they had finished dancing he gave the stem to the director who put it where it belonged. Because one of the ribbons fell off they sang the song Scabby-round-robe sang just before he waded into the river to meet the Snake Indian. This song was a warning to prepare for danger, the words were: "When I try hard, I escape danger, or I am saved. Should you not pity me it does not matter." As the ribbons and bells still lay on the floor Big-brave arose and standing near them, told four war deeds. Then Mad-plume told four war deeds, picked up the ribbon and gave it to the director. The singing and counting of war deeds were to prevent the prophecy of ill luck coming true.

For the following song, he held up a bunch of moose hoofs which he took out of a woven bag. In his left hand he held the smudge stick and in his right he shook the hoofs. He prayed and put down the stick and hoofs. Then he took a badger skin and gave it to one of the women. She sat facing another woman and they went through the motions of the dance. The woman hid the skin under her blanket and then moved back in her seat as badgers do when in their dens. After making four passes to the smudge with it, she put it in its place.

He handed the two bobcat tails and the smudge stick to one of the women. This woman and another held the smudge stick up vertically with one end resting on the floor. She moved the tails up and down the stick as bobcats do when climbing trees. Then the tails and sticks were put back. For the next song he took a stuffed mouse, held it up, prayed, and returned it to its place. Then he took a bird, something like a sparrow, and the white swan and holding them in both hands for a time, he laid them down. For the next song, he took the raven and holding it on top of his head, cawed four times as the ravens do and then handed it to a man who prayed and then returned it. He then placed it with the other birds and for the next song one of the women danced with a grouse and another with the tail feathers of a grouse. The two women knelt facing each other with their heads close to the floor and acted like grouse during the whole dance. While the women were dancing, the singers shook their rattles in the air imitating the sound of the wings of the grouse. First the woman sat near the smudge and acted like grouse, then did the same sitting near the right of the door, then on the left or southeast, and then in the southwest corner. The women often shook their blankets in imitation of the grouse shaking

its wings. The two women prayed to the grouse and the tail feathers, and placed them with the other things.

The director of the ceremony took a bunch of buffalo hoofs which were tied together with a string and shook them to keep time with the singing. He threw them down near the two women who knelt and faced each other with their heads close to the floor. The women rose with the hoofs and danced with them. The woman who held the hoofs threw the hoofs down near one of her "distant-husbands"<sup>1</sup> and he arose and danced with the hoofs, imitating a buffalo. He and the woman danced together and then the man threw the hoofs near one of his "distant-wives." She arose and danced with them and then threw the hoofs to one of her "distant-husbands." He took the hoofs, first shaking them and then dancing. Every little while he kicked back at those who were looking on. He placed the hoofs with the other things and thus ended the dance. This dance caused a great deal of merriment. As a rule, when a man or woman is dancing with these hoofs they may throw the hoofs to their "distant-wives or husbands" which means that they are to dance. If "no distant-wives or husbands" are present the hoofs are simply replaced when the dancing is over.

At the next song the director arose and acted like a bear. Three women also arose and held their hands with their fingers crooked on each side of their foreheads and then in front of them as bears do when standing on their hind legs holding up their paws. The women danced up to their "distant-husbands" and seizing them roughly forced them to dance. The singers could hardly be heard because of the shouting and laughing. After this dance a roll of tobacco was cut up and passed around to all who were present. Soup was served. Before eating the soup they each held up a berry and prayed. This ended the ceremony.

In the spring, when the ice is melted all beaver men give a ceremony to represent the time the beavers come out of their dens and also in memory of the time when Scabby-round-robe went to war and killed the Snake.

During the above ceremony, the painting was omitted by mistake.

The following beaver ritual songs were taken with a phonograph (Nos. 385-409) and the texts recorded. The translations are by Mr. Duvall:—

### MOON SONGS.

1. It is powerful, this grass (smudge), take some of it.  
I use it for a sacred purpose.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See page 12. Also McClintock, 100.

<sup>2</sup> This is the smudge song.



2. There he comes, Old Man.  
He is walking this way.  
He is coming in.  
Come in with safety.  
"Let us have a sweat (house)," he says.
3. That there, Old Man.  
He is a-walking.  
He is stooped.  
He is coming in.  
He is sitting down.  
"It is powerful."
4. Old Man, he says.  
"My old smoke, I do not feel it."  
Old Man, he says,  
"My new smoke, I feel it."  
It is powerful.
5. Now then, that which is above.  
He knows me.  
It is powerful.  
This here, that which is below,  
He knows me.  
It is powerful.
6. Old Man, he says,  
"It is increasing (expanding), my smoke.  
I want to smoke."  
It is powerful.  
  
Old Man, he says,  
"Let us smoke."  
It is powerful.  
  
Old Man, he says,  
"I want to smoke."  
It is powerful.
7. O my!<sup>1</sup> Man, if you do not show me mercy,  
It makes no difference.  
This one here now, he knows me.  
It is powerful.  
  
Man, rain, I want it.  
It is powerful.  
Clear weather, I want it.  
It is powerful.

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<sup>1</sup> An interjection in Blackfoot speech.



This here now, the earth,  
It is powerful.  
These, our medicines.  
They are powerful.

8. Now, we are sitting and moving.<sup>1</sup>

We see all around us.  
We are safe now.  
Man, he says, in the summer.  
When we go outside.  
When we see anyone  
Then we dive  
Then we are safe.

Man, he says,  
In summer, where we see,  
Then we are safe.

9. That there, Old Man,  
He is walking this way.  
He has come in.  
Old man, is walking this way.  
He has come in.

"I am morningstar," he says,  
"Let us have a sweat (house)."  
Morningstar says again,  
"A running fisher, give it to me  
Do not disappoint me."

Morningstar, he says,  
"Let us have a sweat."  
He says again, this morningstar.  
"A running fisher, give it to me."

"Man, I am the morningstar person.  
Take pity on me.  
A running fisher, I want it,  
Give it to me."

"Man, I am the morningstar person,  
Take pity on me.  
Let us have a sweat.  
Take pity on me."

Old Man, he says,  
"Black and white (horses), I want them."  
Old Woman, she says,  
"Black coyote and white coyote, I want them,  
Give them to me."

<sup>1</sup> This refers to positions and movements in the ceremony.

Old Man, he says,  
 "Tail feathers to be replaced (renewed),<sup>1</sup> I want it."  
 Old Woman, she says  
 "Tail feathers to be replaced, I want it."  
 That these above, I happened to see it.  
 That these below, I happened to see it.  
 It is powerful.<sup>2</sup>  
 Old Man, he says.  
 "A sweat house, give it to me," he says.  
 Old Woman, she says,  
 "A sweat house, give it to me," she says.  
 Old Man, he says,  
 "The calf,<sup>3</sup> I want it,  
 Give it to me."  
 Old Woman, she says,  
 "The elk, I want it.  
 Give it to me."

## TOBACCO SONGS.

10. The above, he gave me tobacco seed,  
 I have dropped (planted) them.  
 It is powerful.  
 This here, the earth, he gave me tobacco leaves.  
 It is powerful  
 Tobacco seed, I want it. It is powerful.  
 Tobacco leaf, I want it. It is powerful.  
 Tobacco seed, I want it.  
 A plenty I have taken.  
 It is powerful.  
 Tobacco leaf, I want it.  
 A plenty I have taken.  
 It is powerful.  
 Tobacco leaves, I have taken.  
 It is powerful.  
 Old Man, he says.  
 "The plants, let us go over there."<sup>4</sup>  
 It is powerful.

The Blackfoot take great interest in these songs. They appear to us as the highest type of any so far encountered in their rituals. More ideas are expressed and with more form than in the medicine-pipe songs. Many

<sup>1</sup> The idea is that the worn and broken eagle feathers are to be replaced with new ones.

<sup>2</sup> This song is said to refer to a particular dream experience, or a vision.

<sup>3</sup> This is a headdress made of white buffalo calfskin. The elk refers to the skin wrappings in the bundle.

<sup>4</sup> This refers to the place where the tobacco is growing.

Indians say that, in theory, almost every bird and animal known to them has a representation in the bundle and that the ritual contains at least one song for each of them as well as for other objects.<sup>1</sup> The preliminary part of the ceremony leads to the opening of the bundle. When this results the various objects within may be taken up singly, their songs sung, and their dances given. The leader may close at any time. In this dancing the object is put through a pantomime of its most characteristic actions. For example, we have seen a woman take up the woodpecker's skin and while dancing about in the tipi, imitate its call, hold its bill to the tipi poles, and make other movements with it, suggestive of the creature in life. Some of this acting is very well done and gives ample scope for individual skill. McClintock's account of the beaver medicine may be referred to for a vivid word picture of such dances.<sup>2</sup>

The music is furnished by rattles only. These are of the type shown in Fig. 53, Vol. V, 86 and were formerly of buffalo skin. Their handles are wrapped with strips of cowskin, bearing the dew claws, the whole symbolizing the hoofs of buffalo. The rattlers rest upon their knees before sheets of rawhide (Fig. 26) spread upon the ground and with a rattle in each hand make vigorous forward downward strokes. The women assist in the singing but not with the rattles.

The ritual is thus a composite rather than an organized whole. It is further complicated by the incorporation of such seemingly separate ceremonies as tobacco planting, calling the buffalo, the sun dance bundle, etc. This accounts for the great length of the beaver ceremonies and the unusual number of songs. No one person is credited with knowing the entire ritual and it is believed that many parts have already passed out of recollection. The full number of songs cannot be ascertained since there seems to be some kind of taboo against counting them. If in a ceremony anyone is detected counting the songs, the leader repeats and mixes them until the counting ceases, when he again proceeds in the proper order. While beaver men say they can count them by mentally noting each, they are very reluctant even to estimate their number. Three-bears says there are about four hundred and that White-calf (a famous Piegan chief who died in Washington City) once sang two hundred seventy in series beginning in the evening and ending at dawn.

To understand the ritual we must familiarize ourselves with its mythical basis. The gist of the conception was given by one informant as follows:—"There are many ways of telling the story of the beaver medicine, but this

<sup>1</sup> Though not all informants are agreed, it seems that the mountain sheep, the lion, and the owl are the only living things not represented by songs.

<sup>2</sup> McClintock, 95.

is the way it came to me. The first bundle was owned by a Piegan, named Glass-old-man. He transferred his bundle to Scabby-round-robe. Glass-old-man received the bundle direct from some beaver. Once when camping near a river, his wife was taken down under water by some beaver and when she came out she brought with her the bundle and the knowledge of its ritual." Several versions of this myth were given in our first paper.<sup>1</sup>

The following narrative throws further light on the ritual's origin:—"You remember the story of the twin brothers, or stars, one of whom was called Rock and the other, Beaver. After Beaver was married and had become a great man, he had a beaver skin which the beavers had given him when he lived with them and also some beaver songs they taught him. After Beaver had lived with his people for some time he left them and put his tipi far away from any camps. Since he was not satisfied with the few beaver songs he went outside of his tipi one day and called out in a loud voice, 'Ho-o-o, all you animals and birds, you are invited to my tipi.' As Beaver had great power all the animals were soon assembled in and around his tipi. There was one of each kind of animal. They all transformed themselves into human beings and when those inside were seated Beaver said to them, 'I have invited you all to come here because I wish a song from each of you.' When the animals heard this they all agreed to help him. Each sang a song and said, 'You can have this song and also my body.' The buffalo bull and the buffalo cow gave him their songs and showed him how to make the rattles which are used in the ceremony. They also gave him their hides which were to be used for beating the rattles upon. The buffalo hoofs were also given him.

When the time came for the lizard to sing he said, 'I have no song to give you.' Beaver insisted that he sing. But the lizard said, 'I have no song to give you.' Beaver replied, 'You must sing for I want a song from every one of you and if you refuse to sing I will stick your head into the fire.' This made the lizard angry and he said, 'I will sing you a song.' The words were as follows: 'You man, I am now angry; rain is my medicine; hail is my medicine.' No sooner had the lizard finished his song than it commenced to rain and hail. Then the lizard went on with his song and said, 'I am on an island.' When Beaver looked out he saw that the ground was covered with water and that where the tipi stood, was the only dry spot. Thereupon Beaver said to lizard, 'I was only joking about sticking your head into the fire. Do not sing any more, for you will drown us all out.' Then the lizard stopped.

Now it was the frog's turn to sing and he said he could not sing for he

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, 74-83.

had such a poor voice and could only make the clicking notes which frogs make. As these notes do not sound very well the beaver bundle owners seldom use them.

Then the beaver's and lizard's pictures were painted on the leather which was to be used for beating the rattles (Fig. 26). The lizard was painted because he was so powerful and that he may be seen during all the ceremonies; that of the beaver because it was the only thing the founder had when he started to get the beaver bundle. When each animal had given Beaver a song he returned to his people and whenever the different kinds of birds were killed he would ask for them and place them in his bundle. He did this until he had a very large bundle. That is why beaver bundle owners have so many different kinds of birds in their bundles and, as each is supposed to have a song, they have a great many songs."

There is still another account for the origin of the beaver bundle:—There was a woman who was taken into the river by the beavers and later on returned to her husband with a beaver bundle. The beavers called on the sun, moon, and morningstar to help them transfer the bundle to the woman's husband and when they came down they appeared at the man's tipi as human beings. The first asked the man to make a sweat house. When the sweat house was made the three went into it and taught the man all about the sweat house songs. Then they went to the tipi and taught him the feather and offering songs, the beaver bundle songs (p. 269) and the whole ceremony. In the words of the songs the sun and moon are spoken of as the old man and the old woman. The sun also showed the man what should be done when people wished to make offerings to it. The bundle given to this man is said to have contained all the water animals and their songs. Later, the two beaver bundles were combined and as songs were exchanged the bundles became larger and the songs greater in number. It is said the beaver bundle ceremonies are the oldest in history and were in use long before the days of Scabby-round-robe and before other sacred bundles were used.

That the ritual came from the beaver is accepted by all, Scabby-round-robe having received a further grant of power from the same source. The general conception seems to be that by virtue of this ritual, Scabby-round-robe possessed great power over (or in) the water after the manner of a beaver and overcame his enemies thereby. Thus in some unpublished versions of the Scabby-round-robe myth we have the following:—

Scabby-round-robe lived with the beavers about seven moons, or months. Before he was with the beavers he was asleep on a hill near the river. A boy came to him and said, "My father has invited you to our house." The boy also told that after he had been with his father some time he would ask him

four times which of his father's medicine things he would want. He told him to choose a stick which always hung over the doorway. "That stick," said the boy, "represents myself. It is called the-stick-the-beavers-chewed-into." Furthermore, the boy told him to try to learn all the songs his father was going to sing to him.

Then the boy and Scabby-round-robe went into the beaver's home. The beaver man had a tipi and all the beaver lived as human beings. The beaver man had a bundle and every new moon he would sing and invite all the other beaver men. He said to Scabby-round-robe, "Try to learn all my songs." He also foretold that Scabby-round-robe would kill a Snake Indian and that he would be given a beaver bundle by one of his own people. Afterwards he killed the Snake Indian. Every new moon the beaver man would have a ceremony and after the fourth winter moon he asked Scabby-round-robe to sing the songs. As he had already learned them he had no trouble in singing them. In the seventh, or spring moon, the beaver man had another ceremony and as the bundle was opened he asked Scabby-round-robe which of the medicine things he wished to have. Scabby-round-robe said he wanted the stick which was fastened over the door of the tipi. The man said, "My son, you have made a poor selection; pick out something that will be of some use to you." Scabby-round-robe said he would rather have the stick. After the beaver man had asked the same question four times, he said to him, "My son, you are very wise to want the stick. The stick you have chosen is my boy and it is very powerful. It will be a great help to you. You must take care of it and carry it next to the skin under your arm on a string. When you kill the Snake Indian, you must hold the stick in front and this will protect you." He also told him what song to sing and said, "Before you dive in the water sing and use common earth to paint your head and body." The words of the songs were: "When we try hard, we escape danger (or we are saved). When we dive we are safe." This refers to beavers when they dive into the water and no one can get them. "Now," said the beaver man, "when you dive, bite the stick and you will be able to breathe in the water without difficulty." That is why Scabby-round-robe held the stick in his teeth when he went across the river after the Snake. After the beaver man had told him about the ceremony and the stick Scabby-round-robe went home to his people.

The beavers kept track of the days of the moons and knew just when it was spring for they had counting sticks with which they did this. After Scabby-round-robe got home and reached the river where he was to kill the Snake Indian he painted his hair and body with dirt and sang: "When I try hard, I escape danger." Then biting the stick he waded into the river and when close to the opposite shore he stopped and sang, holding the stick

in front of him. Then the chief of the Snake waded in after him and Scabby-round-robe backed off, the Snake following. When he got close to Scabby-round-robe he struck at him with a lance but missed and hit the stick. Then the Snake tried to get to the shore but Scabby-round-robe took the same lance and killed him with it. Then he bit the stick and holding the Snake by his hair, dived down stream with him and swimming under water upstream he brought him ashore where his ehum was. After the war party returned home he was given a beaver bundle from the woman's husband, that is, the woman he married.

After this they all returned to their own people. A girl came out to meet Scabby-round-robe and he gave her the scalp and the big arrow to give to her husband. After this, the big arrow and hair belonged to the beaver bundle. This big arrow is used as a pipestem now and is decorated with a lot of plumes tied or wrapped around the stem (Fig. 12). The human hair is used as a necklace in the sun dance bundle. It is hung from a buckskin string with shells on it. Later on, Glass-old-man, the partner of Scabby-round-robe gave him the beaver bundle. All the songs Scabby-round-robe knew were put together with the other man's songs. Afterwards the beaver man asked the man for the natoas (sun dance bundle) and gave a good price for it. The natoas was kept with the beaver bundle and the songs were combined. The first natoas was given by a bull-elk. Smudges for natoas are sweet pine, sweetgrass, and the turnip.

Thus, the conception of power conferred by the beaver may be taken as the initial or basic part of the ritual. Yet almost every object in the bundle has its own individual myth and, hence, its own ritual. We present a number of these as types:—

(a)

Once a man was sleeping along a river bank where a yellow-necked blackbird had a nest on the edge of the bank with some young birds in it. The bank where the nest stood was almost overflowed by the water. Now, the man woke up and saw two yellow-necked blackbirds flying around over him. He watched the birds and wondered what was the matter. The birds alighted near the edge of the bank and one of them sang a song. The words were: "I am standing in the water; I am standing by my young ones." Then the other bird sang: "I am the one who has been standing in water; I want an island." Then the man could see the water moving away from the bird's nest and the bank of the river. Now the bird said to the man, "You saw what I did to the river. I have greater power than the people in the river. I give you my power." The female bird said to the man,



"My power is much greater. I will also give you my power." The man went home and asked the people to get for him a pair of yellow-necked black-birds since he could not kill any himself because it was against his medicine. This man owned a beaver bundle and when he got the birds he put them into it. Ever since they have been in the bundle; the songs are still sung by the beaver men.

(b)

Once the people had camped at one place for a long time. It happened that some mice had made a nest inside of a beaver bundle owned by a certain man. It was during the winter. These mice had young ones in this nest. The man noticed some mice running about his bundle but he did not dare to kill them for it was against his medicine. After a while he could hear the young mice squeaking in his bundle, so he said to his wife, "Make a smudge and we will open the bundle and see about those mice." They were going to do this the next day, but the mice overheard the man. That night he had a dream. He dreamed that the mouse came to him saying, "You man, have pity on me and do not disturb my young ones. We will not injure your bundle, let us winter there. We will be of great help to you." The next morning the man told his wife about the dream and told her to open the bundle that they might see the mice. The woman did so, first making a smudge and praying to the bundle while she was untying it. When it was opened they saw eight little mice. The man then pulled some wool from his robe, added it to the nest and wrapped up the bundle again. That night he prayed to the mice: "I will let you remain in my bundle and take good care of you; but you must help me as you have promised to do." The mouse came to him in a dream that night and sang: "You man, I think a great deal of my children. They are powerful." It sang another song as follows: "You, man, sleep in brush; you will have a dream; the brush is my home; it is natojiwa." Then the mouse said again to the man, "Since you have been so kind to my children you will live happily for many summers and winters." The next morning the man explained the dream to his wife and told her to take good care of the mice and that they would be of great aid to them during their lives.

The people were going to move their camp a short distance. Before moving the man said to the mice, "We are going to move." After they had pitched their camps, the beaver man went to visit another man. In the evening his wife was lying down and heard some one singing. This was not a dream but real singing that the woman heard. The words of the song were: "Days we travel are (natojiwa) powerful; nights we travel are powerful." Then the singer said to the woman, "Since you have been so

kind to us I will be of great use to you." The person who had been singing was the mouse and it went out and stole some tobacco from another bundle owner, brought it in and put it on the tobacco board. It was dark and the woman did not see the tobacco. The man came in and his wife told him all about what she had heard. The man said, "It must be the mice you heard singing." It happened that tobacco was scarce in the camps at this time and the tobacco the mouse had stolen was the kind the people raised. The mouse had overheard the man wishing for some tobacco and that was why he stole it. During the night the mice stole all the tobacco the other beaver bundle owner had and put it on the tobacco board. When the man arose in the morning and was about to make a smudge he saw the tobacco on the board and wondered how it came to be there. He asked his wife about it, but she knew nothing. He filled his pipe and began to smoke. While he was smoking he heard someone he could not see say, "Give the bundle a smoke." He blew the smoke toward the bundle four times and ever since that time beaver men blow smoke towards their bundles.

The man now invited the other beaver man to smoke and he was much surprised to see so much tobacco when the others had none, so he said to the man, "You never give us any tobacco when you have so much." The man then explained how the tobacco came to be there. The guest then said to him, "I have some tobacco in my bundle but it is not easily gotten at." The beaver man said, "It may be that these mice have stolen this tobacco out of your bundle," and suggested that he open his bundle and see whether he had any tobacco or not. The guest went home and made a smudge and opened his bundle. When he did so he missed his tobacco and he went back at once to the man who had the tobacco and told him about it. The man said, "It must be my mice that stole your tobacco," and sang the song that the mice sang. While he was singing one of the mice ran out and back again. His wife sang and another mouse ran out. When this man heard them sing and saw what happened, he asked the man to teach him the songs and give him the same power over the mice. The man did so, and since then the mice and their song have been connected with the beaver bundle.

(c)

The following accounts for the prairie chicken and bear songs in the beaver ritual. It is the story of a contest between the prairie chicken and the bear to see which could most frighten all living things:—

A man once traveled alone in the woods. As he went along a prairie chicken said to him, "You see over yonder where those trees are?" The

man looked and saw the trees. The chicken said, "There is a bear over there with whom I am to have a contest. Come along and see it," and the chicken flew on ahead.

The man went on and came to where the bear and prairie chicken were. The bear and the chicken explained to the man the cause for the dispute and asked him to judge their contest. The man said he would do so. The bear said to the chicken, "You go first and hide and try to frighten me when I come upon you." The chicken replied, "No, I will look for you first and you try to frighten me and then I will hide and you can look for me." The bear hid himself and the chicken went to look for him, while the man followed. Just when the chicken was about to discover the bear he sprang upon it with a great roar; but the chicken ducked around underneath the bear and did not fly. When it was the chicken's turn to hide, the bear was about to step on the chicken when it flew up making a loud noise with its wings. This so frightened the bear that he jumped aside, howling. The man decided in favor of the chicken.

The prairie chicken sang, repeating the same words four times: "I fly; my flight is powerful." The bear sang: "My children, take pity on them. Now I am going to let them go." The chicken now said to the man, "Since my power is much greater than that of the bear I will give it to you together with the songs." Then the bear said, "My power is the greater, I will give it to you with my songs."

This is not a dream but is just as it did happen. When the man returned home he told the people what he had seen and what powers he had obtained from the bear and the chicken. A man who owned a beaver bundle asked this man to transfer the songs and the power to him. The man did this and was well paid for it. Since that time these songs have been with the other beaver bundle songs.

(d)

Another myth of special interest runs as follows:—

A man who owned a beaver bundle once camped far from any others when he went out to hunt. This camp was where a great many prairie dogs lived. One morning he said to his wife, "I will go out to hunt and may not return until night." They had a little boy who was just old enough to talk a little. After the man was gone, the woman said to the child, "I must go out and bring in some wood for the fire." After she had been gone for quite a long time, the child began to cry and look for its mother, but could not find her. In the evening the father came home with a deer and found his wife gone and the boy crying. He asked the boy where his mother had gone and the boy said that she went after some wood and had not re-

turned. The man then picked up the boy, took him to the tipi, cooked some meat, and fed him. The boy cried all night long. Next morning the man went to look for his wife. One of the prairie dogs asked the man what he was looking for. He told the prairie dog he was looking for his wife who had been gone since the day before. The prairie dog told him that his chief had taken her into his house. The man then told the prairie dog to tell the chief that he wished his wife to come back and that the little boy had cried all night for her. The prairie dog chief refused to give up the woman.

The man then called on two of the prairie dogs to go and see the chief for him. They told the chief that they felt sorry for the little boy, that he had cried all night for his mother, and that the man wanted his wife back. Again, he refused to let the woman go, saying, "I think this woman very nice and shall keep her myself." The dogs went back and told the man what the chief had said. Then he called on another prairie dog to go and see the chief. This one told the chief that the man wanted his wife back and that he felt sorry for the child and its father. This time the chief became angry and said that he would not give up the woman but would keep her. The dogs went back to the husband and told him what the chief had said. He then sent another prairie dog to the chief and again he refused, and the dog told the man that they could do no more since the chief was a great medicineman. He sent no more men to the chief.

The father took the boy on his back and went away, feeling very sad. He came to a lake where there was just enough water to fill the buffalo tracks. He came to where a lizard was lying in one of the buffalo tracks filled with water. He asked the lizard to help him, saying, "Lizard have mercy on me and help me to get my wife back. The prairie dog chief has taken her away from me and I sent some prairie dogs to him, but he refused to return her. If you will help me I will help you in return. I will take you to where there is more water." The lizard replied, "I will help you; I will go and see about getting your wife back. Take me over and put me down at the door of the chief's home." The man took the lizard to the place where the prairie dog chief lived. The lizard crawled into the chief's home. When the chief saw the lizard he knew at once for what he had come for he had great power. The chief said to the lizard, "I suppose you come for this woman."

This chief had a number of prairie dog wives and there were also some visitors at his home. The lizard said to the chief, "I have come here to ask you to let this woman go back to her husband." The chief replied, "Oh, you ugly thing, how could I listen to a pot bellied thing like you. Get out of here before I burst your belly." The lizard continued to ask for the woman. The chief then said quite angrily, "Why don't you get out of

here. I have a good notion to kick your guts out." But the lizard repeated the same words asking for the woman. He asked him four times and each time the chief refused. Then the lizard said again, "Are you sure you are not going to give up this woman?" The chief replied, "Why you talk as if you were going to do something about it. I shall not let this woman go." Again he asked for the woman four times and again at each time the chief refused. This made the lizard very angry and he sang a song: "You chief, you have hurt my feelings. Chief I am angry." The chief then said to the lizard in a mocking way, "You must have great power, singing the way you do." The lizard then sang another song, the words were: "The earth is my medicine. You men if you do not have mercy on me it is all right." Then he sang another song: "Wind, I want rain; I want hail." At the end of the song he gave a long yell, and then the wind began to blow and the rain to fall. It rained harder and harder until it washed all of the prairie dogs out of their holes except the chief for he had some power and kept the water from coming in. Then came a great hailstorm killing a great number of prairie dogs. They all rushed to their chief asking him to let the woman go for the hailstorm was killing them and they all knew that the lizard had brought on the hailstorm. The chief refused to let the woman go. Then his power gave out and the water ran into his hole. When the chief saw the water coming in he told the lizard he could have the woman if he would stop the storm. Then the lizard said to the chief, "Take some sweetgrass and make a smudge with it." The water was now all over the chief's place, his fire was out, and he wondered how he could make the smudge when everything was wet. Then the lizard told him to put some sweetgrass on top of the water where the fireplace was, for the lizard had great power and could read the chief's mind. The chief put some sweetgrass on the water over the fireplace and as he did so the grass smoked. Then the lizard sang: "Clear weather, I want." It cleared up.

The lizard took the woman back to her husband. When the husband saw what great power the lizard had he asked if he could use him in his beaver bundle. The lizard said he could. The man thought how he could keep the lizard in his bundle for the skin would dry up. He said to the lizard, "Since you have more power than all other small animals I will paint your picture on the rawhide on which I beat my rattles and the people will always see your picture first." (Fig. 26.) This pleased the lizard very much and made him very proud of himself. The man then took up the lizard, and went where there was a large lake and put him into the water. The lizard told the man to sing his songs just as he did to the prairie dog chief. He told him to sing the songs when he wanted the wind to blow or

hailstorms to come and sing other songs when he wished them to stop. Ever since then these songs have been with the beaver bundle and the

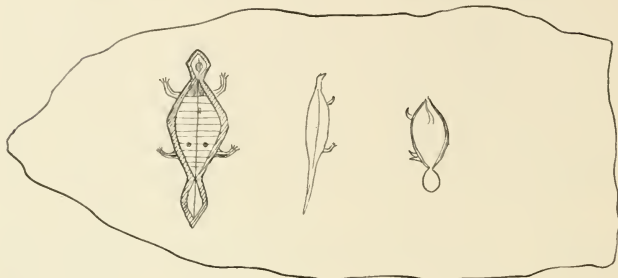


Fig. 26 (50-5420). Decorations on the Rawhide used for beating Rattles in the Beaver Bundle Ceremonies.

picture of the lizard is painted on the rawhide on which the beaver men beat their rattles.

We feel that here certainly the ritual has been accumulative and that the beaver is a true bundle in which are found many disconnected creations of the Blackfoot mind.

*Tobacco Planting.* The ceremonial planting and gathering of tobacco was formerly an important function among the Blackfoot. So far as we know, no account has been given by a white observer, and neither the writer nor Mr. Duvall observed the ceremonies. We have collected, however, the statements of a number of informants, some of whom had taken part in the proceedings.<sup>1</sup> One of these seems fairly complete and runs as follows:—

At the planting of the tobacco seed, the beaver men hold a feast to which they invite their friends. Eight single young men are sent out to gather deer, antelope and mountain sheep dung. They use this dung because these animals run fast and therefore the tobacco will grow rapidly. They do not use the dung of the elk and moose because they walk slowly and would delay the growth of the tobacco. The beaver men give a feast which lasts four days during which they dance and feast. The dung is then mashed up together with service berries, and tobacco leaves and water are added. All these make the tobacco seed ready to plant. The seed is now given out among the planters. To prepare the soil a lot of brush is

<sup>1</sup> For notes by another informant see Curtis, vol. 6, 76.



gathered by all the men, women, and children and spread on the ground. At each of the four corners of this place a fire is started, four men watching the fire so as to prevent it from spreading further. After all the brush has been burnt, they make small brooms of brush with which the place is swept clean. Then a number of men procure sticks with curved roots or having curves that can serve as handles. The straight end of this stick is sharpened and used for digging up the ground. With these sharpened sticks they make holes about a foot apart and two inches deep in a row and the ground is divided up into sections in which each beaver man plants his seeds. The seeds are dropped into these holes, the children covering them up by running back and forth over them four times. Should a child fall while doing this, ill luck will surely follow, and the child will die. After the seeds have been planted a smudge is made on the four corners of the plot and the songs of the smudge are sung. After the crop is planted the people break camp and move away. This place is not fenced in.

When the camp is moved the people camp at four different places each of which must be farther away from the planting place. The beaver bundle men claim that the *niwaxsax* (tobacco seed) are human beings about a foot tall and that these dwarf people must be treated well and well fed. This is one reason why the *niwaxsax* are looked upon as very sacred. At the end of the tobacco vine is a bud which is used for seed the next year. The beaver bundle men say that there are four of these tobacco people, single men, who wander back and forth between the crops and the camps of the beaver men. It is also said that no one must ever try to see them for anyone seeing them will surely die. There was once a young man who did not believe that these dwarf people existed and to satisfy his curiosity, he went out some distance from the camp and hid where he thought the dwarfs would pass. He had not been waiting very long at this place when he saw four young men about a foot tall passing by. Now he believed the beaver men and went back to the camp and told what he had seen. Shortly after he saw the *niwaxsax* he died and ever since the people have been afraid to see them.

When the people reach the fourth camping place in moving away from where the tobacco was planted, the wives of the beaver bundle men make moccasins about two inches long, and prepare bags of food about three inches long. During the night these small moccasins and bags of food are placed outside where the *niwaxsax*, or dwarf people, can get them. The beaver bundle men speak to the dwarfs as if they could see them and say, "Here is some food and moccasins for you. Go back and tend to our tobacco crops." The beaver men say that there are such people and when these moccasins and the food are put out for them they will soon disappear. After this the people spend the time until the fall in hunting.



In the fall they all move back to where the tobacco was planted, but before reaching the place four young men are sent ahead to examine the crop. Each young man goes to a corner of the field where the smudge was made and pulls up one of the tobacco vines. Then they return and show them to the beaver men, telling the kind of crop they have raised. The people all camp at this place and the beaver men put up four big tipis, putting two tipi covers together. They give a feast and dance lasting four days and nights for all the men, women, and children in the camp. After this is over the beaver men pull up all the plants, the leaves are cut up and mixed with lerb leaves and prepared for smoking. The tobacco is then distributed to the rest of the people.

If it should happen that the summer season was dry and the beaver men wished for rain, the otterskin was taken from the bundle and tied to the end of a tipi pole, which is placed on the outside but leaning against the tipi, with the otterskin fluttering around in the air. The beaver man then makes a smudge and sings a song: "Water is my medicine; rain is my medicine." Shortly after they stop singing, it is said, a rainstorm comes and soaks the ground and the crops. It is said that the tobacco vines of the Northern Blackfoot are much like those of the potato. They still raise tobacco. The beaver bundle and tobacco planting are said to come from the Piegan and that the Crow and other Indians procured it from them.

We previously published an origin narrative for this ceremony<sup>1</sup> which differs considerably from the following:—

A man named White-fingers once camped by himself along a river. As he went out to hunt every day he left his two wives alone at the camp. One day they heard a noise as if someone were drumming underneath the earth. When he returned they told him what they had heard and he moved camp at once. That night he dreamed that a man came to him and said, "You had your camp right over our home; we were singing and making medicine. We are the beaver people. Now I have come to give you some of my power and some songs and show you how these songs should be used." The next morning the man arose and again went out to hunt. He came to a snow bird's nest and as he stood over it watching the young birds, the mother bird flew around over his head. Soon he heard the mother bird sing: "Do not harm my children." When he heard this he went away to look for some worms and bugs and when he had found them he returned and fed the young birds with them.

That night he had another dream. A man came to him saying, "Since

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, 79.

you have been so kind to my children I will give you some of my power. When you are planting tobacco seed use deer and rabbit dung and service berries. This will enrich the soil." This man was the father of the young birds.

Now then, this man, whose name was White-fingers, after receiving the power from the bird and learning many songs from the beaver, returned to his people. White-fingers said nothing to his people about the power he had obtained. Whenever the beaver bundle owners gave their ceremonies, he usually attended them and listened to their songs but did not sing himself. The beaver bundle owners thought very little of White-fingers and that he only attended their ceremonies to learn the songs. One of the men said, "Hereafter, when we have our ceremony, all those who attend must sing a song of their own." Of course, this was a hint directed at White-fingers who said, "I am not afraid to sing my own songs. I will sing them to you." While he was singing his songs, which the beaver men had never before heard, a lizard crawled into the tipi. This surprised the beaver men very much for the power of White-finger was what had caused the lizard to crawl into the tipi. Nevertheless, the bundle owners did not believe in White-finger's medicine powers and did not pay much attention to him. As this happened at the time of the year when the tobacco seeds were to be planted, all the beaver men were occupied with preparations for planting their seed. White-fingers was going on a few days' hunting trip and asked the other beaver men to wait until his return so he could plant his seed together with them, as they usually planted all at the same time. As soon as he left, they planted their seed and had finished when he returned. White-fingers was very angry and said to the men, "You have treated me unkindly, and in consequence, your tobacco will never grow." Then he went out alone and planted his seed near where the others had planted. He used the rabbit and deer dung and service berries as the birds had advised him. Then he returned to the camp.

In the fall of the year the people moved to where their crops were planted. They sent four young men ahead to see how the crops had grown and they returned with the report that White-fingers had raised fine tobacco but that all the other crops had not grown at all. When the beaver bundle owners heard this, they were very sorry they had ill-treated White-fingers. He said to them, "I don't wish anyone to pull up my tobacco plants." In spite of what he said, one of the men stole some of the tobacco vines during the night and began to smoke. He had not been smoking very long when he became very ill. All the medicinemen failed to cure him so they called in White-fingers who sang a song and a lizard crawled out of the thief's mouth with small pieces of tobacco in its mouth and the man re-

covered. White-fingers said to the people, "This man has stolen some of my tobacco. My lizard went down into his stomach to get the stolen tobacco." As the lizard spit out small pieces of tobacco, the people have always kept small buckskin bags of tobacco seed ever since that time. These were to represent the small wads of tobacco in the lizard's mouth.

When the beaver men realized how powerful a medicineman White-fingers was, they all respected him. He showed them how to get better crops and taught them many new beaver songs and became a very great man among the beaver bundle owners. He was known as The-man-who-planted-tobacco-on-the-plains. Long afterwards, the tobacco planters often prayed to White-finger's spirit when they wished to raise good crops of tobacco. Therefore, it is said that White-fingers helped in increasing the beaver bundle songs and improving the tobacco planting.

When the ground was to be prepared for planting the tobacco seed, a lot of buffalo chips were gathered and spread over the ground which was to be cultivated and then they were set on fire. After they had been burned willows were tied in a large bundle and dragged back and forth a number of times. These were used to loosen the earth and mix the ashes with the soil. Then some sticks with curved ends were used as hoes to loosen the soil. Then each man took a sharp pointed stick, and dug holes in the ground, in a row, one not far from the other. The tobacco seeds were placed in these and small mounds of dirt made over them like potato hills. When the tobacco was ripe in the fall of the year, the vines were pulled up, dried, and used for smoking. It is said that there is a bud that grows on the vines that contains the seeds used the next year. After the seeds are planted, the place is fenced in, and left until the fall.—Duvall.

*Calling the Buffalo.* From what we can learn, the beaver men were usually called upon to charm the buffalo near and to make medicine at the drive.<sup>1</sup> The buffalo rock bundle (iniskim) was also a medicine for controlling the movements of the buffalo; but it is not clear as to what associations it had with the beaver (p. 244). An experienced beaver man gave us the following account of the ceremony as performed by his cult.

When in the winter the buffalo have drifted far away and the snow is so deep that the people cannot go out to hunt, they call on the owners of beaver bundles to bring them back. They give tobacco to the owners who invite a number of old men and women competent to assist in the ceremony and who have offered many prayers during their lives. Younger people are not invited. In the evening they assemble and take seats in

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. 5, 33.

the owner's tipi. When once seated, they must not change positions and give strict attention to the leader, or owner. First a smudge of sweetgrass is made, then the singing begins in which all take part.

Old Woman, she has come in with happiness.

Old Man, he has come in with gladness.

Man, he has come in with happiness.

Buffalo, them I have taken.

It is powerful.

Buffalo, you get up that all may see you.

It has been long since we could make you out.

Buffalo, they are away on top of yonder mountains.

Buffalo, they are powerfully (natoji) coming down.

That below, it is their medicine.

Buffalo, on mountains they are powerfully (natoji) sitting.

Buffalo, they are powerfully arising and powerfully coming down.

That below, it is their medicine.

Buffalo, they are powerfully running down.

That below, it is their medicine.

Buffalo, they are down on the earth.

Buffalo, they are running around.

That below, it is their medicine.

Buffalo, they say, the ground where we are running about.

That there, it is our medicine.

Buffalo, they say, the ground where we are powerfully sitting.

That there, it is our medicine.

By this time the half of a buffalo rawhide, split down the back has been placed before the men to handle the rattles. The flattened stiff hide gives the rude profile of a buffalo and should lie with the head toward the door and the back toward the fire. Then the bag containing the rattles is held up as they sing:

Buffalo, them I have taken.

Buffalo, they are powerfully starting and looking about for a powerful place to sit.  
(With these words the bag is placed upon the rawhide).

Buffalo, them I have taken [bag untied].

Buffalo, I am in a hurry [rattles taken out].

Now, as I said before, those taking part must sit very still, which is tiresome. So the owner prays to the cranes as follows:—"Cranes, we are tired sitting still. We want to move about. You must hear our prayers and help us." Then everyone in the tipi moves or changes his position, stretches his legs out for a while and moves about in his seat. Then they sit as before. A smudge of sweetgrass is made. The owner prays to the ravens: "Help me, ravens, with your good luck. I am about to sing your songs."

That above, it is the raven's medicine.  
The wind, it is the raven's medicine.  
The raven, he is looking for buffalo.  
He has found them, he has taken them.  
Buffalo, them I have taken.

With these words the men take hold of the rattle handles, holding them so that the balls rest upon the rawhide and give the call of the raven. Each man holds a pair of handles with his left hand, as they sing:—

Raven, he is looking around on the ground for a dead buffalo to eat.  
He has found it. It is powerful.

Then the men holding the rattles, still in the same position, peck with the right index finger twice on each rattle ball and at each call once like the raven.

Raven, he says when on the ground.  
It is powerful.  
I am looking about on the ground for a dead buffalo to eat.  
I have found it.  
It is powerful.

Again the rattles are pecked four times and four raven calls given. Then the rattles are laid on the rawhide with the balls toward the fire.

Raven, he says, I am looking for a powerful dead buffalo to eat.  
I have found it.

Then the men peck again at the rattles four times and call on the raven, but the rattles are not picked up.

Men (those present), they are my children who are looking at me.  
It is powerful.  
Women, they are looking at me, they are my children.  
It is powerful.

Then, as the owner holds both hands over the smudge he sings: "Rattles become me," meaning he looks well when using them, "Rattles I have taken," etc. They take up the rattles and make four passes as if to beat them on the rawhide; then begin to beat. All the time there is singing. At the end of this song all hold the rattles up, shaking them steadily and at the same time bring them down, crossing the arms and resting the rattles on the rawhide.

Now, the next song is for the bunch of buffalo hoofs and a tail in the beaver bundle.

Buffalo, they are powerfully arising and powerfully starting. Shaking the hoofs, they are laid down. The owner and his wife imitate the buffalo by butting at each other and bellowing. The owner slaps his right hand on the dust, then on his left wrist, elbow, and shoulder; then with the left

hand this is repeated on the right arm; then he slaps both hands in the dust, then on his cheeks and on the forehead. The wife does the same. All this time there is singing, "Dust, it is the buffalo medicine." The meaning of all this is that the buffalo is painting, as when he throws dirt upon himself. Then the man takes up the hoofs in his left hand, shakes them over his wrist, elbow and shoulder; then takes them in his right hand, etc. He throws them down. His wife takes them up and goes through the same movements. Then she stands up with the hoofs. The owner stands with the tail. They dance, shaking the hoofs and the tail, prancing around to the right of the fire, acting and bellowing like buffalo. They circle the fire eight times, then take their seats and place the hoofs and tail upon the bundle. While handling the dust, they sing, "The buffalo's road: it is powerful." While prancing about, "When buffalo go to drink; it is powerful."

Now, the next songs are the most powerful in the beaver bundle and are only used to handle the buffalo. They are called charming-the-buffalo songs and must not be sung in any ceremony except this one and then only when the people are facing starvation. A smudge is made. A black stone pipe filled with tobacco raised by the beaver men, the stem painted with the seventh paint, is handed the owner. He holds the stem up toward the sun, "Sun, here is a smoke for you. The reason I am going to sing these songs is that I may fool the buffalo into coming back here. Old Woman, (moon), here is a smoke for you. I shall sing these songs to try to bring back the buffalo, so that we may all be made happy with food." Then he holds the pipe toward the mountains, "He-who-causes-winds-to blow, here is a smoke for you. Help me that my wish may be fulfilled for I am going to look for buffalo." (During this prayer, if the wind is blowing, it will cease.) Then, he hands the pipe to one of the men and all stretch out their arms toward the owner and then place them upon their breasts, making the receiving signs and crying out, "Our hopes are that we shall all be made happy in the morning with plenty of meat."

Then a wooden bowl, filled with snow is placed near the smudge. Pointing up with his right thumb, the owner sings, "Above there is a man who hears me; it is powerful," then with his left hand on the ground, "The earth hears me; it is powerful. I want it to blow in different directions." Then a change will be noticed in the wind. The owner takes up the hoofs and the tail, dips them in the snow, holds them up and shakes them. Then the wind will come from the direction in which the buffalo are. It will bring a very cold snowstorm, driving the buffalo toward the camp. They sing, "Buffalo, they are uncertain in their traveling. Buffalo are coming straight to us, I have taken them," and close with the receiving sign and a prolonged na-a-a.



A prayer, "Sun, help us that all the children may have plenty of food in the morning," is followed by —

Old Man says, buffalo are coming this way.  
I have received them.  
It is powerful.  
Old Woman says, etc.  
Man says, etc.  
Young-single-man says, etc.

This is repeated and all end with the receiving signs and na-o-oo. Twice again these songs are sung.

Now, one of the men is sent out to announce that all are expected to stay indoors during the night. Then comes the fifth charming song:

Old Man says, buffalo are coming this way,  
I have taken them; it is powerful.  
Old Woman says, etc.  
Man says, etc.  
Young-single-man, says etc.

Then the sixth song:

Old Man says buffalo are here. I have taken them; it is powerful.  
Old Woman, etc.  
Man, etc.  
Young-single-man, etc.

Now, at this song all the dogs in the camps begin to bark and the people know that in the storm the buffalo are drifting by. Then comes the seventh song:

Old Man, he says, I am telling what is true.  
That above, he hears me.  
It is powerful.  
I am telling what is true.  
That below, he hears me.  
It is powerful.  
Old Woman, she says, buffalo I have received.  
It is powerful.  
Man, he says, buffalo I have taken.  
It is powerful.  
Young-single-man, he says, etc.

Now this ends the ceremony. The next morning one of the young men goes up to the drive and drives the buffalo into the pound. As soon as they are killed some one hands an icicle in to the owner. This he thrusts into the ashes of the fireplace and, going outside, throws it to the east. At once, the weather moderates, making it more comfortable for the butchers. (This is still practised.) To this may be added the comments of Mr.



Duvall:— The charming ceremony of the beaver bundle owners is performed in the evening and not only brings the herd of buffalo near by but causes it to drift right through the camps. As all of the songs are for the same purpose, the last seven songs are considered more powerful and are not sung in ordinary ceremonies. It seems that the iniskim is left out. The wolf songs are the charming songs for the warriors, while the buffalo hoof and tail songs are used for charming buffalo. If the buffalo should be to the west of the people when charming them a wind will blow from the west; if the buffalo are north of the camps the wind will blow from the north; and if the buffalo are south or east of the camps the wind will blow from these directions, for it is the wind and storms that drive them to the people.

#### THE NATOAS, OR SUN DANCE BUNDLE.

A very important bundle passes under the name natoas, seemingly derived from natosiw<sup>a</sup> and mas, sun power and turnip (*Lithospermum linearifolium*). It is primarily a woman's bundle in that the husband takes the second place in its ceremonies, whereas in most others the wife takes the lesser function. There are two of these bundles in the Museum collection, one of them being rather old and quite complete.

There are a number of natoas bundles in use. The writer has definite knowledge of eight and has every reason to believe that there are others. While these are not exact duplicates, the variations are in the minor parts, especially in the accessories. A man or woman who has long been familiar with every detail of the ceremony may, in time, venture to make up a new bundle. The determination and the initiative seems to rest with them, though they seldom undertake such a feat except at the request of some person desiring a natoas. The writer knows of one case in which a Piegan man with the assistance of his wife made up a bundle. On another occasion a Blood woman offered to make up such a bundle for the writer; she claimed to have made others now in use and to keep on hand a supply of the necessary materials. No detailed information was collected bearing upon the conditions governing such duplications, but it was stated that several days would be required for the work and the attending ceremonies. Songs belonging to the ritual are sung almost continuously, interspersed with prayers and purification ceremonies.

The most complete bundle in the Museum contains the following:—sacred headdress for the sun dance woman, bag of badger skin for the sacred headdress, a digging stick to accompany the headdress, a case of rawhide for the headdress and bag of badger skin, a shawl for covering the bundle,

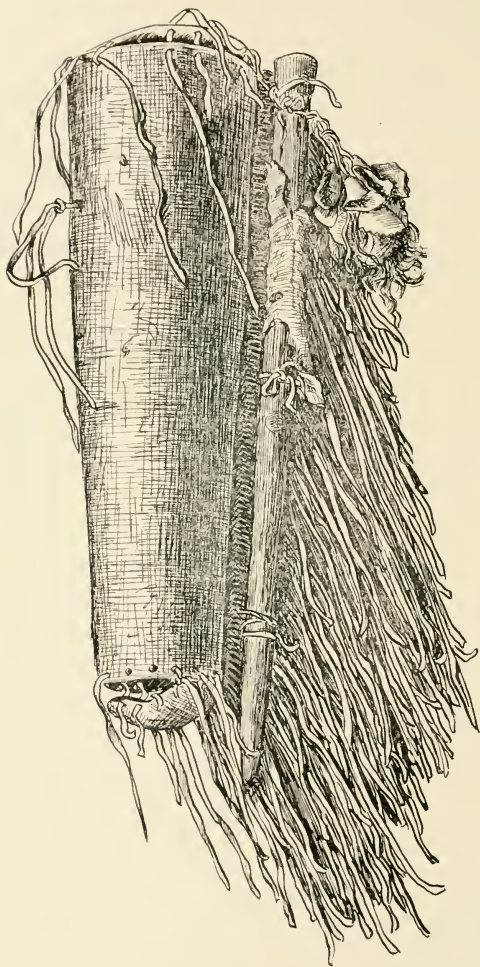


Fig. 27 (50-61664, c). The sacred Digging Stick and the Case for the Natoas.

bladder bags for feather bunches of the headdress when in the bag of badger skin, a bundle containing skins of animals, weasel skin, squirrel skin, another weasel skin, and gopher skin. In addition, the following accessories are necessary:—a paint and smudge outfit, bag of rawhide for holding the same; one bag of red paint, two bags of seventh paint, three bags of tallow for mixing paint, one bag of yellow paint, two bags of black paint, material for the smudge, a bladder bag containing scraps of skin, etc., for mending, seven rattles, a Nez Percé bag for the seven rattles, rawhide upon which rattles are beaten, smudge sticks, straight pointed stick, a small two-pronged stick, a large three-pronged stick, a tripod for supporting the bundle, a strap for the main bundle, and a specially decorated elk skin robe.

The headdress and the digging stick are the important objects. The latter is painted red and should have some moose hoofs fastened on the end (Fig. 27). The headdress is built upon a strip of buffalo rawhide, cut to represent a lizard. In many cases it is painted red for half its length and blue on the other half. The edge is hung about with strips of white weasel skin. In front is what is spoken of as a doll, containing tobacco seeds, and a weasel stuffed with human hair, or scalplocks. At the back should be the tail of a wildcat. A flint arrow point is hung to the doll's head. On some headdresses there is a small bird at the back. A pair of tall plumes and a pair of eagle or raven feather tufts, complete the regalia (Fig. 28).

Like the medicine-pipe, the natoas is covered with a shawl and suspended from a tripod; though it differs in that it is kept in a cylindrical rawhide case.<sup>1</sup>

*Relation to the Beaver Bundle.* It is the general belief that the natoas was at one time a part of the beaver bundle. In Vol. 2, p. 83 will be found versions of its origin myth which agree in the main with some other versions we collected. The gist of the matter is that an elk gave the bundle after an affair of seduction with, in some versions a woman, in some an elk, etc. So far as we know, the most authentic account is one handed down by Head-carrier, a famous beaver man:—

For some time, a bull elk had been looking for his wife who had run off with another bull elk. Since he failed to find her he filled his pipe and going to the different animals, offered them a smoke if they would help him. They all refused to smoke. Finally, he came to the moose and the raven and after he had explained his trouble to them they smoked his pipe and offered to help him. As they were in the mountains and the timber was very thick it was not an easy task to find the runaway elks. Raven said to them, "As I can get over more ground in a day, than you can I will go

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<sup>1</sup> A photograph of another natoas outfit may be found in Curtis, Vol. 6, 46.

back and look for them while you two wait for me." When Raven was gone four days he came upon the runaway elks and as he had great power he charmed them so that they could not get away from the place where he found them. He went back to Elk and Moose and told them that he had found the runaways. As Elk was afraid of the elk for whom he was looking he asked Moose what power he had and Moose replied, "I have the power to strike with great force." Then Elk said, "My horns are so powerful that I can hook with great force." Raven overheard their talk and knew that they were afraid of the elk whom they were to meet soon. He said to them, "Do not fear him for his power is not great, and we will overpower him without much difficulty."

As they started, Raven flew on ahead of them and Moose said, "Our friend Raven talks as though he could do something. He has wings only. How can he help us fight the elk?" After they had traveled for some distance through the timber they came to some cottonwood trees. Raven returned and said, "You see, over yonder by that cottonwood tree, are the bull elk and your wife." When Elk looked he saw them. Elk was now in the lead with Moose following close behind him. Elk and Moose sang and every step that Moose made, his feet sank deeper and deeper into the ground which was very hard for he had great power.

As Elk approached the tree where the bull elk and his wife were standing he hooked the tree three or four times and knocked off large chips. Elk was hooking at the tree because he was very angry and wished to kill the bull elk. Then Moose struck at the tree with his feet and knocked off large chips. The bull elk who ran away with Elk's wife hooked the tree and threw it down. When Elk and Moose saw what the bull elk had done they were greatly surprised and did not care to fight him. Moose said to Elk, "Let us make friends with this elk for his power is much greater than ours." Raven said to his friend, "Do not be afraid of this bull elk, his power is not so great. We three can overpower him if we try." Then Moose said to Elk, "Let us be friendly with this elk for his strength is much greater than ours. Besides, what can Raven do to help us fight; he only has a pair of wings and his heavy curved bill." Elk replied, "You are right. I will give him my robe and my bonnet." Then Moose said, "I will give him my hoofs," and Raven added, "I will give my tail feathers though I know we could overcome him and could avoid giving these gifts. I was going to light upon his head and peck out his eyes one by one. Then you and Moose could have gone after him and as he would have been blind you could have done as you pleased with him. Since Moose is such a coward and you have decided to make peace with the elk and give such gifts to him in order to get your wife, we will do so."



Fig. 28 (50-6166a, 50-5394). The Natoas, or Sun Dance Headdress and the Hair-lock Necklace.



When Elk and Moose heard this they were very sorry they had not fought the bull elk and wanted to fight then. Raven said, "No, we will not fight him. Do as you have offered; give him the elk robe, bonnet, teeth wristlets, and moose hoofs and I will give my tail feathers." The bull elk who had run away with Elk's wife overheard their talk and thought to himself for he was very much afraid of Raven, "I will accept their offer and give up his wife." When Elk gave him the elk robe and dress, the bonnet and wristlets, the moose hoofs and raven feathers, he gave up his wife, took the things, and went on his way.

The bonnet they had given him was the holy turnip bonnet, or natoas. The feathers stuck in the bonnet represent the prongs of the horns. The buckskin dress, robe, and bonnet and the other things were for women to wear and as this bull elk had no wife the things were useless to him. While he was going along one day he saw a tipi and thought he would give the things to the man who lived there. He changed himself to a man, went into a tipi, gave the things to the man and taught him the whole ceremony. He told him a small cottonwood tree must be used in the ceremony and that the hooking motions should be gone through with. This tree was to represent the large tree that the elk and moose had thrown down when they were testing their power.

The man who had received the bonnet and other things was the owner of a beaver bundle and as he had a wife she used the robe, dress, and bonnet during their ceremonies. When the people gave the sun dance they used to march towards the medicine, or sun dance lodge in single file going very slowly and stopping four times just as they do nowadays. The women who made the vow for the medicine lodge in those days only wore a circle band of creeping juniper as a headdress and when they saw how fine the beaver bundle owner's wife looked in her dress and bonnet, the medicine lodge women generally borrowed the bonnet and clothes when they gave the sun dance.<sup>1</sup> Later, the medicine lodge woman bought the bonnet, robe, dress, the elk teeth wristlets, the moose hoofs, and the raven feathers from the beaver bundle owners and had them transferred together with the songs. This is how the natoas came to be in the beaver bundle and was later on given to the medicine woman in the sun dance.<sup>2</sup>

Other informants are quite agreed that there was a time when the

<sup>1</sup> It is an old saying that Scar-face brought down the custom of wearing a head band of juniper for the medicine woman and the tradition that this was displaced by the natoas is generally regarded as authentic.

<sup>2</sup> One informant states: the first beaver bundle was owned by the man who gave the bundle to Scabby-round-robe; next was the man camped near St. Mary's Lake, whose wife went into the beaver den; then the natoas was put into the bundle; the next owner was the man who raised tobacco (Plants-on-the-plains); next the digging stick was added; later, the natoas was separated from the bundle.

natoas was a part of the beaver bundle and that, though it was afterwards separated again, there is still a connection between their rituals. When in the beaver bundle, it is worn by the owner's wife during the ceremony. It may be, that as powerful medicinemen the beaver owners tried to monopolize all ceremonial functions, such as tobacco planting, charming the buffalo, the natoas, taking in, as many narratives suggest, anyone who appeared with a powerful ritual. Such a theory seems fully consistent with our data.

While the elk-woman is everywhere recognized as the originator of the natoas, it will be noted that the woman who married a star is also credited with having contributed the digging stick, the plumes, or leaves of the turnip. The latter seems to have given the name, natoas.<sup>1</sup> In some versions Scar-face is regarded as the child of this woman and also an originator of the bundle.<sup>2</sup> Scabby-round-robe is said to have added the arrow point and the beaver men the tobacco seed, or dwarfs, in the doll's head.

*The Ritual.* In the transfer of this bundle the woman to receive it and her husband are taken in charge by a man and wife competent to conduct the ceremony, the man leading. These leaders are spoken of as the transferrers, and the other couple as son and daughter. The woman and man giving the bundle are spoken of as mother and father. In addition, a number of men and women are invited to enter the tipi and assist in the ceremony. As in all ceremonies the men sit on the north side, the women on the south. The son and daughter sit at the rear and next to them the transferrers. It opens with the smudge song:—

1. The spring (?) grass, I am looking for it. It is powerful.  
I have found it: I have taken it. It is powerful.
2. Old man is coming in. He says, let us have a sweat.  
Old man, he says, a running fisher I want, a white buffalo robe I want.
3. Old woman is coming in. She says, etc.
4. Morningstar is coming in. He says, let us have a sweat.  
Morningstar, he says, a running fisher I want, tail feathers I want.
5. Man is coming in. He says, let us have a sweat.  
Man, he has brought safety in with him.
6. Old man, he says, black and white buffalo robes I want. Let us have a sweat.
7. Old woman, she says, black and white wolf hides I want. Let us have a sweat.

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, 58.

<sup>2</sup> McClintock, 492-5.



8. Old man is coming in. He says hurry to make me a sweat house.  
He has come in with happiness; he wants a different (?) sweat house made.  
(A smudge is made.)
9. Old woman, she has come in with happiness.  
She wants a different sweat house made.  
Man is coming in. He wants to have a sweat.
10. Morningstar is coming in with many things.  
(The idea is that he brings in many robes, clothes, etc.)
11. Old man, he says, this man wants some tail feathers.  
(Song for the tail feathers used in the ceremony.)
12. Old man, he wants tail feathers.
13. Old man, he says, a hundred tail feathers I want.
14. Old woman, she says, different kinds of tail feathers I want.
15. Old man, he says, make haste to give me tail feathers.  
Old woman, she says, give me another kind of tail feathers.
16. Old man, he says, give me a white buffalo robe.
17. Old woman, she says, give me a different kind of elk robe.
18. That there above, it sees me. It is powerful.  
Old woman, she sings, I have seen the ground. It is powerful.  
(Song refers to making the smudge place.)

The toe of a new moccasin is used for levelling the smudge place. At this time it is taken up by the transferrer as No. 19 is sung and touched to the smudge place, the loose earth being then smoothed over. The transferrer then takes up the tail feathers as No. 20 is sung.

19. Buffalo, I have taken them. It is powerful.
20. Old man, he says, make haste to mark me.  
Old woman, she says, mark me in a different place.  
Morningstar, he says, mark me in a different place.  
Old man, he says, paint me now (the yellow paint).  
Old woman, she says, paint me with different paint (the black paint).  
Morningstar, he says, paint me different (the sun dog symbols).
21. Man, he says, I am powerfully standing on the mountains. It is powerful.  
I am powerfully coming down.  
In summer, I powerfully come down.  
I am powerfully standing on the earth.  
(The song is for the rawhide upon which the rattles are beaten.)
22. I am in a hurry. (Song for the rattles.)
23. Raven says, I am looking for the buffalo.  
I have taken them.  
(The rawhide being spread out before the men, they take the rattles in their hands.)

24. Raven says, on the ground I am looking for something to eat. I have found it.  
It is powerful.
25. Old man, he says, I look well with the rattles. I have taken them. (Beating with rattles begins.)
26. Old man, he says, the timber I am looking for it. I have found it. I have taken it.  
(Then the father takes up the smudge stick and as a new smudge is made sings No. 27.)
27. May my lodge be put up without mishap. (The sun dance shelter.)
28. Man, it has been a long time now. You get up. (The natoas bundle.)
29. Old man comes in and sits down. He says, I am looking for my natoas. I have found it. It is powerful.
30. Old woman has come in. She says I am looking for my natoas. I have found it. It is powerful.
31. Old man, he says, my natoas I have taken up. It has given me power.
32. Old woman says, the natoas I have carried it on my back. It has given me power. It is powerful.
33. My natoas, I have taken up. It has started. It has stopped. It wants to sit in a powerful place.  
(The father lays the bundle down with appropriate movements.)
34. The earth is my home. It is powerful.  
My natoas I am looking for. It is powerful.  
(The badger's song, referring to the inner wrapping of the bundle now exposed.)
35. Old woman says, why do I not see my natoas which is powerful.
36. Old man, he says, those women looking at me are wise. (The women in the ceremony.)

At this point in the ritual the natoas is taken from the badger skin. The bundle is held up and shaken with the next song.

37. My natoas wants to shake itself.
38. Man says, tail feathers I want.  
My natoas says in a powerful place I want to sit.  
Old woman says, why do I not see my natoas.
39. Black tail deer is running about. It is powerful.  
(The cloth wrappings on the natoas are removed.)
40. Weasel is running about. He is my headress. It is powerful.  
(The skins on the natoas.)
41. Boys are running about. It is powerful.  
(Refers to the doll containing tobacco seed, or "dwarfs.")
42. Teal (duck) says the water is my medicine. It is powerful.  
(Refers also to the water ouzel.)

43. Man says I want a buffalo tail.  
(The tail tuft on the natoas.)
44. Lizard says, yonder man, I am angry now.
45. My necklace, I have taken it; it is powerful.  
Man says, scalplock, I want it.  
(Refers to the special scalplock necklace used with this bundle.)
46. Elk are running about. It is powerful.  
(Refers to the woman's dress which should be of elk hide.)
47. My robe I have given you. (The elk robe.)
48. The earth is my medicine. It is powerful.  
(Refers to the white earth paint.)
49. I am looking for the timber. I have found it. I have taken it. It is powerful.

At this point a small cottonwood tree is brought into the tipi by an assistant to whom the transferrer hands an ax. He stands holding both while some one of the men present recounts four war deeds, then sharpens the butt.

50. The timber is looking for a powerful place to sit.

Then the tree is stuck into the ground on the south side of the fireplace toward the rear of the tipi. The leader's wife takes up the headdress, then the daughter takes hold also, both making dancing movements with their bodies and then hanging the headdress on the tree as they sing:—

51. I am looking for timber on which to sit.

Then follows a song without words during which the leader's wife takes the headdress from the tree, puts it on her head, her body swaying with the rhythm of the singing, makes hooking motions at the tree, rubs her head up and down the limbs and then places the headdress upon the daughter. During this time the mother makes the whistling sound of the elk. This is readily understood from the origin myth.

53. I am looking for my medicine. I have taken it. It is powerful. (The digging stick.)
54. Buffalo I have taken. They are looking for a powerful place to sit.  
(The dew claws are tied to the end of the stick.)
55. The powerful turnip is what I am digging up.

The song ends with the crane call and the leader's wife holds the stick on her back, then makes four passes towards the smudge place and places the stick in position on the daughter's back.

As the daughter is now arrayed in the sacred objects, her husband, or the son, is made ready for his part. As his robe is taken off and he is painted by the transferrer, they sing:—

56. This man's robe, I have taken it.
57. Old man says, take some of the black [paint].  
This man, I paint him powerfully. It is powerful.
58. Sun dogs (or sun painting) I want it.
59. A painting song without words.
60. Buffalo trail, it is powerful. I am traveling on it.

The son is first painted over his entire body and face with charcoal. Then with the finger tip the transferrer marks on his breast a half moon, on his back a circle for the sun, a bar on each cheek, the chin and forehead, for the sun dogs. Then a line across the face at the bridge of the nose as they sing No. 60. Then a circle is made around each wrist and ankle. He then hands the son his robe as they sing:—

61. You, man, I give you your robe.
62. This man says, feathers I want. (Tail feathers are tied in his hair.)
63. Man wants a scalplock.<sup>1</sup> (Necklace put on.)
64. I am looking for my whistle. I have found it.  
It has whistled. It has a powerful sound.
65. I want a bow. (Scar-face received a bow when in the house of the sun.)
66. I want an arrow.

At this point four bunches of sage grass are placed about two feet apart to the north of the fireplace.<sup>2</sup> At this song the leader, his wife, son, and daughter rise. The leader takes hold of the son's right leg and makes four passes toward the first bunch of sage. The woman does likewise with the daughter. Then the pair are made to step from one bunch to the other. Now the leader takes the lead, the son next, then the daughter, then the leader's wife and all file out for the procession.

Since what follows is an integral part of the sun dance, this may properly be considered the ending of the natoas ritual. The other ceremonies such as the vow to give this demonstration and to initiate the sun dance will be taken up under their respective heads. It may be sufficient to add that the foregoing ritual is demonstrated to transfer the natoas to a new owner. This may occur irrespective of a sun dance.

The altar, or smudge place, for this ritual is perhaps the most elaborate known to the Blackfoot (p. 256). A hole about three feet square is exca-

<sup>1</sup> A special necklace is used with this ceremony. It is a simple string bearing eight black beads, two small long cylinders of shell and in the middle a small lock of hair. The belief is that this necklace was given to Scar-face when he visited the house of the sun and in recognition of his having killed certain enemies.

<sup>2</sup> Both the son and daughter have some sage inside their moccasins during the ceremonies.

vated to the depth of six inches with clean cut sides. The sod is taken off in strips about two hands wide and formed into a wall or border on all sides of the hole save that to the east. The top of this is covered with creeping juniper. The loose earth is placed outside at the rear of the tipi. The bottom of the hole is covered with a thin layer of fine light colored earth. At each end of the sod wall a circular smudge place is cleared to the depth of about three inches. On the bottom of the hole is a dry painting of the moon in yellow with a black stripe at the middle. On each side is a band, the upper part yellow, the lower black, said to represent sun dogs. The smudge place to the left represents the morningstar; that to the right mistaken-morningstar, or Scar-face. The three foot smudge tongs lie on the north side near the sod wall. In painting the designs, they are first lightly traced out with an eagle tail-feather,<sup>1</sup> then boldly marked with the toe of a new moccasin for the right foot.

The daughter is painted at the beginning of the ceremony with a white spot on the forehead, one on each cheek, one on the robe over the shoulders, on the elbows and wrists. After the painting the hands are wiped upon sage grass. The robe she wears in the first part of the ceremony is painted red, to symbolize the sky at sunset, it was said.

*Summary.* We believe the preceding data warrant the assumption that the beaver ritual is not only composed of numerous small accretions, but has assimilated such elaborate ritualistic procedures as tobacco-planting, the natoas, and calling the buffalo. The keepers of the bundles seem to have exercised many of the usual shamanistic functions and to have been held in respect. Traditional as well as internal features of this ritual suggest its relative antiquity in origin; at least, it presents most adequately the almost universal tribal type of individually owned rituals.

#### PAINTED-TIPIS.

In any Blackfoot camp one may see a relatively great number of decorated tipis. The designs and pictographic features conform closely to one conventional style, but what is of special interest, with each decorated tipi is associated a distinct ritual and a bundle with accessories. Then a decorated tipi is in itself an announcement of the fact that within rests a bundle and that its owner possesses the ritual associated therewith, from which it follows that the aesthetic value of tipi decoration is secondary, if not really accidental. It is true that great pride is taken in such tipis,

<sup>1</sup> This feather was used by the sun to brush away the scar on Scar-face, it is said. Vol. 2, 61.

but this springs from the system of owning rituals, or medicines, and because such a tipi is conspicuous and easily distinguished and, therefore, proper for a person of some importance. Many of the Indians recognize this objective value and characterize them as medicines of less subjective importance than pipes and beaver bundles, but still almost essential to a man of good standing. However, their surprisingly great number and general distribution give them a collective value of the first magnitude.

So far as our information goes, there are three classes of rituals: the painted tipis, the flag-painted tipis, and the buffalo-painted tipis. In addition, there are a few special forms. The painted tipis use the buffalo rock (iniskim) as their bundles and the corresponding ritual. The flag tipis take their names from the rule of suspending skins from the bundle at the top of a tipi pole where they wave in the air not unlike a flag. Further, they have songs of a distinct character and make little or no use of the iniskim. That these are real distinctions is clear since the owner of a painted tipi is regarded as competent to preside at the transfer of any among that class but not at the transfer of a flag painted tipi, except he once owned one of that class as well. As a further illustration we have two kinds of otter tipis, the otter-painted and the otter-flag-painted. While the decorations are the same, the former uses the iniskim ritual, the latter a more elaborate bundle and ritual.

The following is a partial list of these tipis with bundles.

#### South Piegan.

- |                                      |                                  |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Snake                             | 11. Big stripe                   |
| 2. Otter                             | 12. Elk                          |
| 3. Buffalo or Black buffalo          | 13. Pine tree                    |
| 4. Horse                             | 14. Bear                         |
| 5. Big-rock                          | 15. Buffalo-head                 |
| 6. Fighting                          | 16. Thunder's house or Blue tipi |
| 7. Tails-on-the-sides, or Four Tails | 17. Eagle-pit                    |
| 8. Raven                             | 18. Rattling-it                  |
| 9. Eagle                             | 19. Prairie chicken              |
| 10. Yellow buffalo                   | 20. Hoof (of buffalo)            |

#### North Piegan.

- |            |           |
|------------|-----------|
| 1. Elk     | 4. Snake  |
| 2. Buffalo | 5. War    |
| 3. Otter   | 6. Beaver |

## Blood.

- |                     |                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Big striped      | 14. Raven         |
| 2. Mountain goat    | 15. Buffalo hoof  |
| 3. Wolverine        | 16. Yellow        |
| 4. Bear             | 17. Otter         |
| 5. Fisher           | 18. Horse         |
| 6. Elk              | 19. Snake         |
| 7. Half-Black       | 20. Water-monster |
| 8. Eagle            | 21. Buffalo-head  |
| 9. All-over         | 22. Skunk         |
| 10. War             | 23. Fish          |
| 11. Crane           | 24. Space         |
| 12. All stars       | 25. Center        |
| 13. Prairie chicken |                   |

## Blackfoot.

- |                   |           |
|-------------------|-----------|
| 1. Thunder's tipi | 4. Coyote |
| 2. Big Snake      | 5. Crow   |
| 3. Freezing       | 6. Bear   |

Our information is not sufficient to say if those bearing the same names among the several tribal divisions are duplicates, but it may be assumed that they bear relations to each other similar to the various medicine-pipes. Like other bundles, they are frequently passed from one division to the other in the transfer.

*The Otter-Flag Painted-Tipi.* Like all Blackfoot medicines this one was transferred to a human being in a dream or vision, the narration of which has been given in our volume of myths. In substance, it is that a young man was sleeping on a raft seeking a medicine experience when a mink appeared and invited him to come to the tipi of the otter at the bottom of the lake. There he received the ritual.

When this man returned to his people he prepared a tipi as seen. Triangular figures around the bottom represented hills with cat-tails between. Four male and four female otters were around the sides. The background upon which the otters were placed was yellow to represent the earth. Bands of red above were the circles made by the otter in swimming; these were also said to represent the water lapping the shore. An old skin tipi of this type was collected.

The bundle was made up of the skins of an otter and a mink wrapped and placed in a rawhide case. The case bears the conventional triangular designs but is painted over the entire surface and fringe with yellow.



A drum is necessary to the outfit. The outer surface is painted over with yellow. Upon the outer surface of the head is the representation of the otter and upon the inner surface that of the mink.

A forked stick for the smudge is an essential, though it does not differ from other sticks used for similar purposes. There is a particular pipe belonging to the owner of the tipi, but there is nothing distinctive about it. A tobacco board, a few rattles and some ordinary drums, complete the outfit.

During the day the bundle in the rawhide case is hung upon a tripod at the back of the lodge, at night or during stormy weather it is brought inside and hung between the back rests as with other medicines. The smudge place is a rectangular clearing of the sod with a small mound in the center. A circular field of yellow sifted clay surrounds the center, the remainder of the clearing being covered with white clay. The mound in the center represents the house of the otter, the yellow, earth upon the shore of the lake and the white area the water of the lake. The incense is burned upon the little mound in a slight depression.

There are two body paintings for this medicine. When the right to its possession and power are to be transferred, the recipient is painted in a yellow ground, representing the shore of the lake. Pairs of short parallel red lines are drawn on the legs, arms, and face representing the footprints of the otter as he passes over the earth of the bank or shore. A circle upon the forehead represents the home of the otter; a circle upon the chin, that of the mink. The circle upon the breast is opposite a similar one upon the back and both together represent the hole in the bank through which the otter crawls. In painting, these circles are always made in the direction in which the sun moves. After the transfer the owner paints differently. The yellow background has the same significance as before and red bands are marked across the eyes, mouth, wrists and ankles, representing the trails, or paths of the otter, when he travels. No further information could be obtained as to the significance of these symbols. A certain fitness, to our way of thinking, appears in the two. The person in the act of receiving the power of the otter bears his footprints and the sign of his hole through his body, while at subsequent times he paints upon himself only the symbol of the otter's well beaten path. Whether the Indian is fully conscious of this symbolism or not, is a matter concerning which the writer was unable to determine.

The transfer must take place in the painted-tipi. The buyer takes the owner's seat, the transferer sits opposite. Next to the buyer sits his wife and next to her the wife of the transferer. Slough grass (*carex nebrascensis praeria*) is spread over the ground between the two men. The transferer

takes up the forked stick and places a coal of fire upon the little mound of the altar. Then he takes up a pinch of sweetgrass and holding it up sings a song, "The above, he hears me" bringing the hand down slowly, makes a circular movement around the fire and lays it on. It smokes. As the hand is lowered the words of the song are, "The (earth) below, he hears me. My tipi, it is powerful." As the singer rises, "It is good. It is powerful."

Then the transferer takes the right hand of the buyer, holds it in the smoke of the burning incense, then to the mouth of the buyer and then to his right ear: the left hand is manipulated in the same manner except that it is brought to the left ear. At the same time the transferer's wife puts the buyer's wife through the same procedure. The significance of this is said to be in its symbolizing the learning of the songs and the ritual now about to be performed. It has the further value of making the assimilation easy for the buyer.

At the completion of these movements they sing six songs in succession without interval.

The above, he hears me. It is powerful.

The wind is my medicine.

The water is my home.

The rain is my-medicine.

The below (earth), he hears me.

Man, he says, my tipi is powerful.

Woman, she says, my tipi is powerful.

Rain is my medicine.

My children (all the water animals), they hear me.

The below (earth), it is powerful.

Man, he says, the water is our home.

Woman, she says, the water is our home.

Water is our medicine.

My tipi, it is powerful.

My tipi, it is powerful [Otter speaking].

Woman, my tipi, it is powerful.

I mean it, my tipi, it is powerful.

The above, it hears me.

The below (earth), it hears me.

Old woman, she says, my tipis will be safe.<sup>1</sup>

Under water are our tipis.

My tipi, it is powerful.

My smoking, it is powerful.

Man, he says, my tipi, it is powerful.

Under water is my medicine.

Woman, she says, etc.

<sup>1</sup> The otter is speaking and implies that the camp of his people will be secure.

At this point a smudge is made. The hands are held in the smoke, then to the ground and to the head in turn. In the next song the wind is appealed to that the tipi may not be blown over.

The above man, he hears (heeds) me.

The below (earth), it hears me.

It is powerful.

The wind is my medicine.

The below (earth) it hears me.

Old man,<sup>1</sup> he says, my tipi is powerful.

Old woman,<sup>1</sup> she says, my tipi is powerful.

My smoke, it is powerful.

Otter, he says, under water is my home.

It is powerful.

Otter, he says, slough grass is my medicine.

It is powerful.

At this point the grass is spread out preparatory to opening the bundle.

Man, you must say, water is my medicine.

Under water are our tipis.

It is powerful.

Waters are our medicines.

The bundle containing the otterskin, etc., is taken down, held in the smudge and laid on the slough grass. As the songs go on the bundle is untied and the contents drawn out slowly. A gun is then fired off outside. The buyer is painted and dressed in a new suit. The painting songs are:—

Under water is my home.

It is powerful.

Woman, she says, water is my medicine.

It is powerful.

Man, he says, under water is my home.

It is powerful.

Man, you hear me (singing).

I am powerful.

The below (earth), it is my home.

Under water is my medicine.

The song while putting new clothes on the purchaser, runs:—

Man, he says, I am powerful.

Old man, he says, my home is powerful.

It will be safe.

Then an eagle feather is tied in the hair of the buyer and the following war songs given:—

---

<sup>1</sup> Refers to the persons first handing down the ritual.

Man, he says, safety I want.  
Man, he says, war arrows are my medicines.  
It is powerful.

The otter, etc., are still within the inner wrappings. This bundle is held in the smudge four times, then alternately to the buyer's shoulders and finally placed in his arms. His wife is also painted and introduced to the bundle in a similar fashion.

Before the drum can be used it is necessary to strike each of the door poles twice to let the tipi know what is intended, for otherwise a striking noise is not permitted. This is now in order. The drum is held over the smudge four times and then handed to a drummer. Seven drums are required, but only one is of special form as previously described.

As the songs proceed the otterskin is taken up by the seller and held and prayed over by each person in turn. In this it is kept beneath the blankets of the sitters, the idea being that the otter is in the water. The next proceeding is spoken of as the otter swimming on top of the water. The seller places it around his neck four times and then repeats the same for the buyer. Then it goes to the women for the same manipulation. Then the mink skin is given the same treatment. Here the song runs:—

Man, he says, water is my medicine.  
Under water is my home, it is powerful.  
Waters are our medicines.

A forked stick is set up and the otter and mink sung into place on it.

After a rest and feasting, there is formal smoking. The buyer blows smoke at the otter four times, pointing the stem at it each time. This gives the buyer the right to smoke. By a similar ceremony he is given the right to drum and use the rattles. Also, he is given the right to eat and drink, especially the right to use water. For this there is a special song:

Our home, water, and our medicine.  
Our home, water, and our medicine.  
It is powerful.

This ends the transfer. However, it is customary to spend the next four days rehearsing the songs.

The former owner may at any time formally present tobacco to the bundle, when the present owner must perform the ritual. When in camp for the sun dance the bundle is opened with the ceremony and the otterskin hung from a pole over the tipi; hence, the name flag-painted.

The rules for the care of the bundle are similar to those for the medicine-pipe. The tipi is occupied as the home of the owner and must, in any event, shelter the bundle. It is transferred with the bundle. When worn

out, it may be replaced by a new one and destroyed, only by sinking to the bottom of a pond, the method required for most painted tipis. The origin myth for the buffalo and some other painted tipis assigns them to beings living under water, or puts them in the class of the beaver series. As these particular tipis are regarded as the older types, we may assume with some confidence that they took their origin from the same group of ceremonial ideas. However, the bundle is exposed to the sun during the day like medicine-pipes, in contrast to the constant sheltering of the beaver bundles. The woman cares for the bundle.

The foregoing very incomplete account of the ritual for the tipi and bundle will doubtless serve to give a general idea of the type and its place among Blackfoot rituals. The songs given are from texts taken with the phonograph and translated by Mr. Duvall.

*The Otter Painted-Tipi.* The following account is for the transfer of the otter tipi having an iniskim bundle:—

Before transferring the otter tipi a sweat house is made. The hole is square. The loose dirt taken out of the hole is placed on the west side and light colored dirt is placed around a hole and in a path toward the door. When the sweat house is ready, the owner of the otter tipi comes to it with his bag of iniskim and smudge stick. The bag is placed on top of the house. The men all enter. A live coal is brought in and a smudge made with sweet-grass. A pipe is then filled and handed to the owner of the otter tipi and after he has prayed, it is lighted. When the pipe has been burnt out, the ashes are emptied on the southeast and southwest, the northwest and northeast corners of the square hole and the remainder are emptied in its bottom. Then the pipe is placed on top of the house with the bowl pointing toward the west and the stem pointing toward the east or where the sun rises. The forked smudge stick with the fork to the east is also placed on top of the sweat house. After the rocks have been placed in the hole, four series of songs consisting of four songs each are sung, between each of which the door curtains are raised. After the fourth song, the sweat house ceremony ends.

All the men then go to the tipi of the owner where the transfer is to take place. The owner sits at the rear on the right side, the purchaser sits on the left side, opposite him. The owner's wife and the purchaser's wife sit on the left side to the right of the purchaser. At first, the bag of iniskim is fastened to one of the tipi poles at the rear and the owner, taking some juniper seed and holding it up sings the first smudge song: "The above is powerful." Then as he places some of the seed on the coal, "The ground is powerful." The four rattles are then taken up and while shaking them

the following words are sung: "My lodge is powerful," and still shaking the rattles, "My lodge is powerfully sitting."

Four more songs are sung and the fifth is: "Man says, my paint is powerful. The water is my medicine." At the same time the owner rubs some paint mixed with water on his hands. He paints the purchaser's face and body yellow with a red streak across the eyes and mouth. The owner's wife paints the purchaser's wife and the purchaser's and his wife's blankets are painted, the upper halves of the blankets are painted yellow.

The next song, another smudge is made of sweetgrass and the owner and his wife join their hands over the smudge and over the bag of iniskim which is still hanging on the tipi pole. They make four passes over the smudge and then to the iniskim and the woman rises and stands by the bag. The words of the next songs are: "Yonder woman, take me, I am powerful. Buffalo I take them." Then the woman takes down the bag of buffalo rocks and places them on the west of the smudge place. As another song is sung, the two men and their wives join their hands over the smudge and the bag of iniskim four times. They sing, "Buffalo I have taken," as they undo the cords of the bag. As the rocks are drawn from the rawhide bag, they sing, "Buffalo, I have taken." The rocks are still wrapped in a cloth.

While singing the next song the two men and women all hold the rocks and pass them to the smudge four times, and rest them on a blanket on the west of the smudge place. The song is: "Where iniskim have been sitting is holy or powerful." Another song is sung to remove the cloth covering of the buffalo rocks. The two men and women all hold their hands to the smudge and the iniskim four times and then they remove the cloth, leaving them on the buffalo wool. The song: "Buffalo I have taken." One of the buffalo rocks is painted red and a song sung: "My paint is powerful." He rubs some paint in his hands and sings, "Kidney fat I want to eat," and taking some fat mixes it with the paint and paints the largest buffalo rock. Then they are all placed in a row on the smudge place. The owner still holds the largest iniskim and sings: "Iniskim I have taken," and holds it to the smudge four times, to the purchaser's left shoulder, to his back, to his right shoulder, to his breast, and to his hands. Then the purchaser takes the iniskim in both hands, kisses it, and prays to it. The iniskim is returned to the owner when it is given to the two women who repeat the same motions with it as the men. After this the iniskim is passed around to all those present in the tipi and when it reaches the owner he places it with the other rock on the smudge place.

Now the rattles are beaten on a rawhide to keep time. The following songs are then sung: "My lodge is powerful. Buffalo are all starting and many of them I take; they are powerful. You man, this day I wish to

obtain property. You woman, say this night I wish to get property." The words of these songs are to remind the purchaser that he is expected to pay well for the otter tipi. The next songs are: "Buffalo are all starting. Lots of them I have taken them; they are powerful." He makes the receiving sign and says, "No-o-o-o." The next song is: "The leader of the buffalo will not turn back but will go over the drive," and the singer pretends to jump over and shouts four times. This refers to buffalo falling over the drive. Again he sings, "Single man, go and drive buffalo," makes the receiving sign and says, "No-o-o-o." Four times he sings, "We want to fall them," and shouts four times, "Those who are running buffalo are yet running; they are powerful. No-o-o-o."

The owner sings the next song: "The above are powerful. They hear me. The ground hears me; it is powerful. One hundred I have fallen," and shouts four times. Then he sings: "Over one hundred I have fallen," and shouts four times.

During the next song the purchaser's wife goes outside of the tipi and pulls out one of the pins holding the cover together, and one of the stakes. First she holds her hand in toward the smudge and then pulls up the stake. The woman gives one of the pins to the owner who takes the purchaser's hand and both hold the pin together while the women hold the stake, one end to the ground as though they were trying to pull it up. This ends the transfer. The pins taken out are to give the new owner the right to take down his tipi.

The following taboos for the owner of the otter painted-tipi are recognized:— He must never break a buffalo head in the tipi nor must any part of the head be thrown into the fire. Also, he must never eat any lungs, nor break a backbone. To blow on the fire he must use a pipestem. He must never lean an old tipi pole against the tipi nor must he allow his robe to catch fire. If this should happen, he must at once make a sweat house to prevent the ill luck which is sure to follow. He must never pound on bones or drum in the tipi, if it is necessary to drum in the tipi a rock or an ax must first be taken and four passes made with it to the two door poles. Then after striking the two poles with the ax, a drum may be beaten in the tipi.

In the transfer there are two war songs while the rest of the songs are iniskim songs. When the owner goes on the warpath he takes one of the smallest buffalo rocks and fastens it to his hair.

In making the smudge place when the otter painted-tipi is transferred, the grass is first cleared off and lighter dirt spread on a space about one and a half feet square. The smudge is made in the center with sweetgrass. Buffalo dungs are placed in a row on the west side and on top of them sage is placed. The buffalo rocks are placed in a row on the west side of the smudge, resting on some buffalo wool.



*The Black and Yellow Buffalo Painted-Tipis.* There are two tipis peculiar in that they have the same ritual and were handed down at the same time. The decorations and general characteristics have been well described by Grinnell to whose account the reader is referred.<sup>1</sup> Though he gives a version of the origin myth and one will be found in our collection also, the following offers many new points:—

Two young men were once sitting on the river bank. Looking down into the water, one of them saw the tops of the poles of a tipi. At first he said nothing but after looking at the poles for some time he said to his companion, "Do you not see the tipi in the water?" The other looked, but failed to see anything. The young man who had first seen the poles said to his companion, "You stay here and I will go and visit the tipi." He got a pole and went into the river above the place where he had seen the tipi and floated down the river. When he came to the place he dropped the pole, went under the water, saw the tipi and went in. There he saw a man and woman. The tipi was dry and through the holes in it he could see the water flowing by.

The man said to him, "My son, the reason I asked you to come here was that I might give you my tipi. You will become the chief of your people." While he was there a very large water animal, stuck its head in the door and said to the man, "I have come to eat this man." The owner of the tipi replied, "You shall not have him. He is poor and I have asked him to come here." The animal crawled a little further into the tipi and as he did so the water rushed in. The tipi owner became angry and taking his straight-bowled pipe, smoked it in the fire. While he did so the back of the animal burned. The animal crawled out of the tipi begging the man not to smoke any longer for he was burning his back. The animal now said to the visitor, "I will give you a song. You may sing it when you wish to cross any river and the river will be shallow."

The owner of the tipi gave the stranger some water in a small shell. The young man drank for some time and yet the water did not decrease in the shell. The man then took the shell from the visitor, drank the water, emptying the shell, and said, "My son, you were foolish to try to drink all the water in the shell. You were trying to drink all the rivers and lakes dry." He then gave him four berries in the shell and the stranger tried to eat all of them but the four berries always remained in the shell. His host took the shell and ate the four berries and said, "My son, when you were trying to eat all the berries in the shell you were trying to eat all the berries in the world. I will give you my tipi, the songs, and my pipe. It will help you very much, but you must give me a white buffalo robe in

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<sup>1</sup> Grinnell, (a), 650.

payment. When you return to the shore tell your companion to come here. There is another man who invited him and will give him a yellow buffalo tipi."

The young man returned to the bank of the river and told his companion to go into the water as he had done. He did so and received the yellow buffalo tipi.

Both young men walked toward the camp. They met a man and told him to tell the chief to make a sweat house for them, to place slough grass inside of it for them to sit on, and when it was ready to notify them. The man did as he was told and as soon as the house was ready they were asked to come to it. The two men entered the sweat house and when they came out there were heaps of sand where they had been sitting.

Now, as the buffalo were far away, the people were almost starving. The two men went to the chief's tipi and said to him, "We are going to have a ceremony. Go and invite the beaver men, have them bring with them the buffalo rock, some fat, and their rattles." The beaver men were called and the two men began to sing. All night they sang and the next morning the buffalo came in a great herd. As the people were camping near a river the men who were singing, changed their song as the buffalo started to cross the river. All at once the water became very deep, the wind blew hard causing great waves which drowned many of the buffalo. The people went to the river and pulled the buffalo out. Among these there was a white buffalo and a beaver colored one. The two men skinned the white and beaver colored buffalo and later on threw the two hides into the river. The white robe was in payment for the black buffalo tipi and the beaver colored skin for the yellow buffalo tipi. Long after this the two men became chiefs.

The tipi owners had a white buffalo robe and they wanted some of the beaver bundle owners' songs. They asked the beaver men to give them songs and they gave them the offering songs and the tail feather. In payment, the beaver men received the buffalo hoofs. Long afterwards the woman who found the buffalo rock gave the tipi owners some of her songs for charming the buffalo and when the people want the buffalo to come near they call on the tipi owners to help charm them.

One time the black buffalo tipi owner was going away. He said to his wife, "Do not let anyone come into our tipi." One day the woman's brother came to the tipi and his sister tried to prevent him from entering, but the man replied, "I only want to go in and smoke." The woman said, "My husband said that I was not to allow anyone to come into the tipi." The brother insisted and as he stepped inside water began to rush in. The man went out. The woman smoked the straight-bowled pipe in the fire and as soon as she did so the water sank back into the ground and it became

as dry as it was before. When her husband returned he knew at once what had happened and said, "Why did you let your brother come in." She explained how she had tried to keep him from coming in.

These tipis are very powerful. Some years ago these two tipis together with many others were along a river bottom. All at once the ice broke up and the people ran to the high places to get away from the water and ice which swept through the camps taking everything with it except the black and yellow buffalo tipis.

The first owners of these tipis saw them in Canada in the High River when it could not be forded. These two men led the people across it. While crossing they smoked their straight-bowled pipes and the water was only ankle deep. The place where they crossed is near the reservation of the Northern Blackfoot. At the place where they crossed there is a gravel bar and it is here only that the river can be crossed. The straight-bowled pipe was later given to the beaver bundle owners. These tipis are so powerful because they were really seen and not dreamed.

The ceremony of transfer is as follows:—

The buyer of the black buffalo tipi fills a pipe, goes to the owner and after handing him the pipe asks for the tipi. The owner smokes the pipe and sets the day for making the sweat house. When the time comes, the buyer makes the sweat house, the owner and he go in, the buffalo rocks are placed on top, and the men sing eight of the buffalo rock songs. Then they sing some of the tipi songs. After this they come out and the tipis of the purchaser and owner are interchanged. They go to the black buffalo tipi and invite their relatives, who help the purchaser pay for the tipi.

The hole in the sweat house during the transfer is triangular but when the owner of the tipi uses it otherwise, it is square. In the tipi the smudge place is square and sweetgrass is used for the smudge. When the tipi is to be transferred the smudge place is cut square and white earth placed in it and a crescent and dot placed in the middle of the square. The dot is the smudge place, but the crescent is where the coals are placed in making the smudge. The moon is marked out with a tail feather, is yellow within and outlined in black. The dot is black. At the beginning of the ceremony the smudge place is plain, but as the singing of the offering or tail feather songs is ended the crescent and dot are marked.

The owner and his wife and the purchaser and his wife exchange clothes. At first the purchaser and his wife are painted yellow, then a spot of white paint is placed on each cheek with a cross in it. The cross is placed on both sides of the purchaser's head, on his wrists, and on the sides of his knee joints. The wife is painted the same on her face and the crosses placed on her wrists, shoulders, and elbows.

The next morning, after the tipi has been transferred, the face is painted red and the white spots placed as before. After a smudge is made, the offering songs are sung and then the buffalo rock songs which are in groups of seven.

At the northwest, northeast, southeast, and southwest corner of the fire-place there is a small hole about two inches wide and about an inch deep filled with white dirt in the bottom. These are to represent the pawing places of buffalo. The two men and the women, wearing buffalo robes with the hair side out, kneel around the first hole, make dancing motions and imitate the buffalo while the others keep time with rattles and sing. They repeat these movements at each hole and take their places at the rear of the tipi. After this they sing the buffalo rock songs, the tipi songs, and the songs for the buffalo painted on the tipi. Then they sing another song which gives the right to take down the tipi when moving camp. During this song the two women pull out one of the stakes and a pin. After this is done the owner may move the tipi at any time.

The owner of the tipi has four rattles but not the leather on which they are beaten. When singing they use an ordinary robe for beating time. During the ceremony the purchaser is given a round buffalo dung covered with a bladder. When he smokes he rests the bowl of his pipe on the dung. This belongs to the owner of the tipi and is kept with the other things.

The following taboos are recognized by the owner of the tipi: He must not eat any part of a buffalo head nor have a buffalo head in the tipi. He must not let any part of the head fall in the fire nor let a marrow bone be heated at the fire. He must never tie a rope inside the tipi from pole to pole and use it to hang meat nor must he ever strike at a buffalo head. No one must wear his robe nor must the fire be allowed to go out. The door of the tipi must not be left open nor must a dog be allowed in it. He must never strike at the tipi.

The same rules must be observed by the owner of the yellow buffalo tipi. Its transfer and ceremonies are the same. The owners of these tipis are the men who sing and bring the buffalo near.

It is clear that these tipis were, in part, associated with rituals to "call the buffalo." We were told that the new owners of these tipis invited the beaver men to help them sing the songs in the first ceremony of its kind, borrowing the one iniskim in the beaver bundle and the rattles; that in this way they acquired through the sweat house (p. 258) the right to use the eagle tail feathers in marking out the moon and sun dog figures and to sing the "sun offering songs." Thus, these tipi owners received the iniskim from the beaver men it being the wife of one who first found the iniskim.

the eagle tail feathers, and the "sun offering song." In turn, they gave the beaver men the buffalo hoofs now in the bundles. All this is probable and besides suggesting that the buffalo tipis were the first of all ritualistic tipis, it throws some light upon the manner in which rituals were constructed from parts of others.

To make the sweat houses of the black or yellow buffalo tipis either twelve or fourteen willows are used. When the tipi is to be transferred the hole is triangular but for ordinary use the hole is square. The dirt taken out of this hole is placed on the west side of the sweat house. At first five rocks are brought in and placed one at each corner and the fifth in the center of the hole. The first smudge is made with sweetgrass between the hole and the rear of the house. The second smudge is made on the rocks and then all the rocks are brought in and placed in the hole. Before the rocks are taken in, the pipe is handed in and one man holds it up first to the sun and then to the ground meanwhile praying. Then he hands it to someone to light. After the pipe has burnt out, it is passed out and placed at the west side of the house with the stem pointing north. Sixteen iniskim songs are sung in groups of four. The sweat house is opened four times and after each group of four songs they all come out. A calf robe must be used to close the door of the sweat house. The triangular shaped hole represents the heart of the buffalo.

*The Winter Painted-Tipi.* The following was stated by a Piegan:—One winter, while the people were all hunting buffalo an old man and his son were caught in a blizzard. The storm was so blinding that they decided to look for shelter. The two men took from their horses one of the hides of the two buffalo they had killed, sat down, and covered themselves with it. It was very cold and it was not long before the hide had frozen and they were snowed under.

After they had been there for four days the old man fell asleep. A man approached him and said, "I come to invite you to my lodge." The old man went with the stranger and both entered the tipi. The owner, who was one of the winter chief's people, had his face and body painted with the white dirt paint. The winter man said, "I will give you my tipi and my headdress feathers." He told him how to use the feathers in war and that he or anyone else who owned the tipi would soon become a chief. He also taught him all about the ceremony. He told the old man that he had not intended to freeze him to death but was only joking with him.

On the fourth day that the two men were under the snow the young man punched a hole through the snow with his hand and said to his father, "I will go on to camp and you may stay here and I will have someone come

for you." The camps were within sight but the day was very bright and cold and as the young man went towards the camp he became very cold and before he arrived his legs became stiff with cold and he stumbled. Some men saw him and he was carried to his own tipi and wrapped up in robes and hot water given him. Then he told them where to find the old

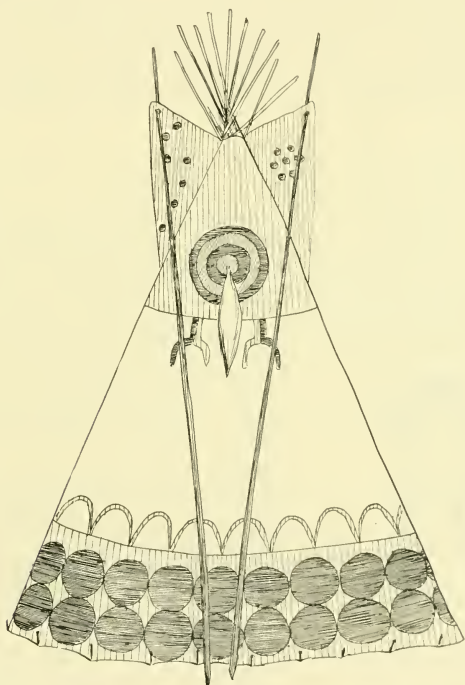


Fig. 29 The Winter Painted-Tipi, from a drawing by Three-bears.

man. His mother and some other women went for him with a travois but because of the power received from the winter man the old man was not affected by the cold.

This is the reason for the belief in the winter people who make the cold weather. Later on, the old man made the winter tipi and painted it just as he saw it and it is still in use.



This winter tipi was first made up and transferred in the early fall when the leaves are turning yellow. The owner of the tipi said to the man to whom he was about to give it, "While I am transferring this tipi, I will prove its power to you, by causing a storm to come."

At first a sweat house was made. The hole and the smudge place were square. The smudge place is about three feet square and is between the fireplace and the rear of the tipi. It is not dug out much but the grass is cleared off on three sides and creeping juniper placed on all but the east side. A circle is hollowed out in the center where the smudge of juniper needles is made, similar to that in the sun dance lodge. The smudge is made in the morning, at noon, and at night. The flaps are opened in the morning and closed in the evening.

The headdress feathers are kept in a rawhide bag on tripods on the west of the tipi during the day and returned in the evening.

When transferring the tipi the man takes some juniper and holding it up sings: "My lodge is holy (or powerful)." He puts the juniper on the fire and sings, "Cold is my medicine. My lodge is powerful." The buyer is painted and wristlets of otterskin with a small bell are placed on each wrist.

The seller and buyer sit near the rear while their wives sit near the doorway on the north side. Other songs are sung: "My lodge, it is powerful. My wristlets have taken pity on me. Morningstar says, 'Four times I want to smoke.'" As the feathers are tied to the buyer's hair they sing, "Man says, my headdress is powerful. Rain is my medicine. Man says, hailstones are my body." The men do not rise to dance but merely go through the motions keeping time with a rattle. The buyer's face and body are painted. The feathers worn on the hair are a black plume, eagle tail-feathers, and raven feathers and are kept in a rawhide bag placed at the west of the tipi. This headdress is used in war. This ends the transfer.



Fig. 30. The Paint and Hair Dress for the Owner of the Winter Painted-Tipi.

When the winter tipi was transferred for the first time it was early in the fall, nevertheless a great snowstorm came up, brought on by the power of the tipi. Three-bears owned it and paid fourteen horses for it. One time he was very sick and vowed to buy it. At another time a man's child was ill and he vowed to buy the tipi when the child recovered and he bought it from Three-bears.



There are various taboos connected with the tipi. Moccasins must never be hung up inside of it. The cover must never be raised, nor must the fire be allowed to go out during the day. Drumming is never allowed in the tipi nor are dogs to come into it. All the songs are war songs.

A native drawing has been reproduced in Fig. 29. The seven stars, or Ursa Major, are on one of the ears and the Pleiades on the other. The large disc at the top represents the sun and the claw symbols below, the thunder bird. At the bottom the discs represent "fallen stars" and the curved lines, mountains. The painting and hair dress for the owner of this bundle is shown in Fig. 30. The face and body are covered with yellow; the dark shaded spots are in red.

*The Snake Painted-Tipi.* This tipi has two snakes painted on it, one on the south, and one on the north side, about the middle. The heads just meet a little above the door while their tails almost meet at the rear. Six black dots representing bunched stars are painted on the ear at the north of the tipi, and seven black stars representing the dipper are painted on the ear on the south side near the top. Four black stripes are painted and just below a cross to which some horse hair is fastened. The cross represents the butterfly. A few inches apart, below the cross hang four cow tails. Around the bottom of the tipi are painted the puff balls, or stars, and mountains. At the center of the back is painted a horseshoe which represents the den of the snakes. Just above the mountains three black stripes are painted.

The smudge place is square. The grass is cleared off, white earth spread over the clearing and the smudge made in the center with the sweetgrass. The forked stick is placed north of the smudge place. The smudge is made three times a day; in the morning, at noon, and in the evening.

The snake painted on the south side of the tipi is supposed to be the male and the one on the north side, the female. Some rattles, a leather on which they are beaten, some buffalo rocks, and buffalo hoofs belong to the tipi. These things are all kept in a square rawhide bag and hung on a tripod which is placed a few feet to the west of the tipi. When these are taken out of the tipi they are carried around the south and returned from the north side.

There are about twelve songs most of which are buffalo rock and buffalo songs. The words are: "Yonder man take me. I am powerful. Kidney fat, I want to eat." These words refer to the iniskim.

Heavy-gun owned this tipi once but does not know how it happened only that it was given in a dream. Some of the songs refer to the tipi itself.

When transferring this tipi a sweat house must first be made and the

buffalo rocks and smudge stick placed on top of it. The hole is cut square. The man's face is painted red with a circle of black around it and a black dot on the bridge of the nose. The five iniskim are placed in a row on the west side of the smudge place.

The fees for the purchase of this tipi range from five to ten horses. The taboos are: a bone must never be broken inside of the tipi. Should anyone do so, it will cause the owner's horse to become lame.

*Other Tipis.* Aside from the otter tipi, we have in the Museum collection a war painted-tipi, and a buffalo head painted-tipi. The former has received mention, p. 37.<sup>1</sup> Its bundle contains a buffalo rock, a buffalo tail, some hoof rattles, a pipe, and sweetgrass for the smudge. These tipis, while owned by one man, were in a sense the joint possession of a few men, who, because of friendship or other ties, were usually companions in raids and hunts. The ritual contains among others their individual war songs. The decorations on the tipi represent chiefly the deeds of the owner and those associated with him. The latter is one of the regular painted-tipis.

The eagle tipi is said to have originated at the same place and time as the lance (p. 134), like the two buffalo tipis, and that in consequence the rituals of the two have many of the same songs.

A quite individual tipi is one said to have been given by the thunder and whose ceremonies are supposed to give protection from storms.

Owing to its use of the plumed serpent figure, the water-monster tipi is of some interest, Fig. 31. The bundle for this tipi is the iniskim. The tipi and ritual are believed to have come down from the sun; also that the horned water-monster himself came from the sun. The smudge place is similar to that for the winter painted-tipi, Fig. 32, bearing the signs of the moon, morningstar, mistaken-morningstar and two sun dogs, with marks representing sunbeams. Sweetgrass is burned on the mistaken-star figure three times each day.

The four-head buffalo yellow painted-tipi is characterized by four buffalo heads arranged around the side. At the bottom are three rows of circles with the usual triangular mountain figures. Around the top there are three rows of these circles instead of the usual star clusters. The body of the cover between the borders is painted yellow. From the tips of the ears hang buffalo tails while at the rear hangs a cross of rawhide also ornamented with a buffalo tail. The ritual and painting are said to have originated among the Northern Blackfoot when a woman appeared to a young man in a vision and transferred it to him. An elaborate smudge altar is used in this tipi as shown in Fig. 35f.

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<sup>1</sup> Also see McClintock, 221.



Fig. 31. The Water-Monster Painted-Tipi, from a drawing by Tom Kiyo. The bands at the top are red, green, yellow, blue, and black; the sections of the serpent are blue, red, yellow, and green; the door is striped with the same colors; the border at the bottom is in red.

*Tipi Decorations.* A point of special importance is that we find no associations between tipis and the bundles they shelter, except under this head, where the tipi by virtue of its decorations becomes an integral part of the bundle and must be used and handled in accordance with the regulations of the ritual. For the beaver bundle, the medicine-pipe, and in short all others, any tipi may be used. Further, tipi decorations in disassociation from a bundle are so rare, that the presence of a decoration is taken as evidence of medicine ownership and character. Even those bearing pictorial

representations of deeds, usually have an iniskim bundle, at least, and bear at the rear a mystic figure (p. 37). Since in the course of events, tipi covers wear out, the painting must be done anew, giving ample opportunity for practise by a skilled man, it follows that none of the actual drawings we have seen can be of great age, but that all must exist in more or less idealized form in the minds of their keepers and be considered, therefore, as expressions of such form ideas. We have then in these decorations a fine series of examples in Blackfoot religious art, in fact, almost their whole range of such art. Both Grinnell and McClintock have treated this subject quite satisfactorily, making it only necessary to take up a few points.<sup>1</sup> In general,

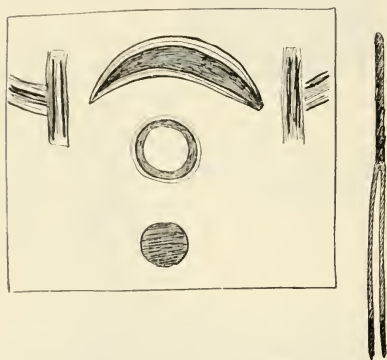


Fig. 32. Smudge Altar for the Water-Monster Painted-Tipi: the ground is of yellow; the moon is in black bordered by red and green and the perpendicular bars are in the same colors: the diagonal projections represent the rays of the sun; the circular band of black and red is the morningstar and the disc of black the mistaken-morningstar. Drawn by Tom Kiyo.

most of these tipis have a blackened area at the top with white discs for the Pleiades and Ursa major, a similar border at the bottom with one or two rows of star signs (fallen stars), and a row of triangular projections, representing hills or mountains. These points may be seen in the Indian drawings of the winter painted-tipi and the water-monster painted-tipis (Figs. 31, 32).

In the rear at the top is a Maltese cross, said by some to represent a moth, by others, the morningstar. After gathering considerable data, we concluded that originally the symbol was a star and that confusion arose from the similarity to the moth, or sleep charm. Nevertheless, the function of a symbol depends upon what it means to those who use it and to many this design is the moth sign.<sup>2</sup> The use of the sun symbol on the winter tipi, Fig. 29, is quite exceptional. The foregoing occur on most painted-tipis but scarcely ever alone; hence, we may consider them as conventional to this class, they having, to our knowledge, no specific associations in the rituals. On the large field between these borders occur the specific symbols. These

<sup>1</sup> McClintock, 207-224; Grinnell, (a), 650-668; also this series, Vol. 2, 41-42.

<sup>2</sup> See McClintock, 219; Grinnell, (b), 194; this series, Vol. 1, 194; Wissler, (c), 260.

are usually of three classes; the mythical originator and his wife, their house and their trails. Primarily, we have the animal (occasionally a plant or inanimate object) associated with the ritual. These are drawn in pairs, male and female; for large animals a single pair, for small ones, four or more.<sup>1</sup> For example, in Fig. 31 we have the plumed serpent, or water-monster the male on one side, the female on the other. In Fig. 32 the mythical originator (the thunder bird) is represented by the conventional claws, a pair on each side of the tipi. In most cases the animal figures are highly realistic and usually in black. The kidneys, the brain, the heart (?), and the so-called life-line are often represented in color. Further than that this was conventional, we could learn nothing. It is obvious that we have here an objective parallel to some Central Algonkin motives. At the rear of the tipi, resting on the border, and sometimes at the door also, there is often seen a simple colored area representing the home, or den, of the animal pictured. At the top, beneath the conventionally blackened portion, are often four to six bands in red and other colors. These usually represent trails belonging to the animals pictured below.

*Comparative Notes.* Of decorated tipis many examples may be cited, since most tribes of tipi-users seem to have used the sides of their dwellings for graphic display; but this is too general to have any particular bearing upon our present interest. A discussion of the subject with an extended bibliography will be found in Weygold's account of an "indianische Lederzelt."<sup>2</sup> In the pipe keeper's tipi of the Arapaho<sup>3</sup> we have the suggestion of similarity, and again in certain notes on decorated tipis by J. Owen Dorsey,<sup>4</sup> but nowhere have we found evidence of a definite association by which the decoration of the tipi becomes an integral part of a ritual except among the Blackfoot. However, in a conversation with some Teton (1904) the writer was told that formerly something of the kind existed among them and that, in accordance with the rules, the tipis were all destroyed by sinking under water. While this is suggestive, the writer has found no opportunity to follow it up. In the absence of other information, it seems best to assume that these Indians had in mind the tipis noted by J. O. Dorsey, and that so far the type herein described is peculiarly Blackfoot. Perhaps these people took from others the suggestion of tipi decorations and adapted them to their own ritualistic scheme.

<sup>1</sup> The numerous illustrations in McClintock, and Grinnell, (a), may be referred to.

<sup>2</sup> Globus, LXXXIII, Jan. 1903, 1-7. In a letter to the writer this author says he has made a study of Teton tipi decorations for future publication.

<sup>3</sup> Kroeber, (b), 281.

<sup>4</sup> Dorsey, J. O., 396-411.

## INISKIM.

Of all medicines the buffalo rock is most widely distributed, being, in fact, little less than a conventional family medicine. Though it has a distinct ritual and ownership may be acquired by regular transfer, it seems that anyone who chances upon one of these stones may take it and thereafter

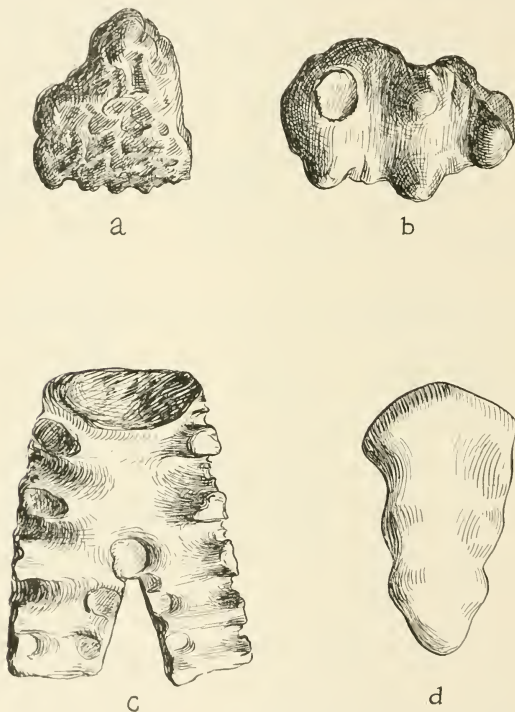


Fig. 33 (50-5380 h i, j, k). A set of the Iniskim, or Buffalo Rocks.

keep and care for it. This may be a breaking down of a former development in bundle ownership, though we suspect that the mere accident of origin in the finding of certain stones is the true explanation. The facts are that such stones are found every now and then, scarcely a family failing to encounter them, a condition encouraging general and less-restricted ownership.



This iniskim, or buffalo rock, has been noted by Grinnell as "*Ammonites*, or sections of *Baculites*, or sometimes merely oddly shaped nodules of flint."<sup>1</sup> The *Ammonites* seem to be regarded as the most powerful type, but we often found fossil shells and other formations in the bundles, as well as a miscellaneous assortment of oddly shaped pebbles. Any pebble bearing a special resemblance to an animate object is most certain to be regarded as an iniskim. Among others, the collection contains a highly characteristic set, Fig. 33, of which *b* represents a buffalo, and *c* a man. The significance of the others was not learned. The legs of the man have been formed by cutting out the intervening material, as the file marks indicate. As a rule, all *Ammonites* similar to *b* are spoken of as a buffalo, because of their somewhat vague resemblance. Yet, we have seen fossil shells with portions of the matrix in a form as to strongly suggest a buffalo standing, also regarded as symbolizing that animal. As part of another set, we secured an unworked pebble like the head and face of a man. The set illustrated was, as always, painted red and wrapped in a generous supply of buffalo wool and enclosed in the skin of an unborn calf. This, with two bags of paint, was kept in a square fringed bag to which a pipestem and sweetgrass were fastened in the usual manner (Fig. 34).

During the day, the iniskim bag is hung on a tripod behind the tipi and a smudge of sweetgrass made morning and evening. There seemed to be no restrictions to opening the bag, as performing the ritual, etc., but when this was done for our inspection, it was usual to make a smudge.

Grinnell notes the belief that if these stones are not disturbed for a time, they will have offspring. A man showed us with evident satisfaction, a large fossil bi-valve in the matrix of which was the protruding end of a small shell as evidence of such birth. On various occasions we were shown small fossils said to have appeared mysteriously at the unwrapping of the bundles.

We published two translations from texts of the origin myth, one of which contains the songs making up the ritual.<sup>2</sup> In one version, the woman receiving the bundle had gone out to pick berries and the bag in which it is now kept is the form said to have been used in gathering berries. Both the events in the myth and the sentiment of the songs make it clear that this ritual had for its function the control of the buffalo and its present disorganized condition may be due to lack of opportunity to exercise that function. Grinnell mentions the use of the ritual in connection with the drive.<sup>3</sup> Under beaver bundles we have given at length a ritual for calling the buffalo (204). We find our informants divided into two groups: one

<sup>1</sup> Grinnell, (c), 126. See also Curtis, Vol. 6, 66.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 2, 85; see also, Grinnell, (c), 126.

<sup>3</sup> Grinnell, (c), 229.



holding that there never was any other ritual for calling buffalo than the iniskim, while the other is equally positive that the beaver men had such a ritual. Some hold that both are correct since in all versions of the myth

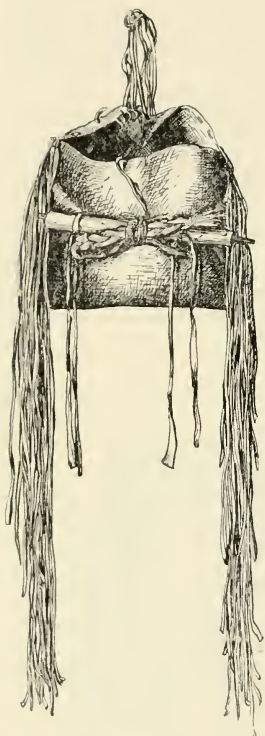


FIG. 34 (50-5380a). The Bag in which the Iniskim are placed.

the woman was the wife of a beaver owner and gave the bundle into his keeping, that an iniskim is usually found in a beaver bundle, and that the virtue of the beaver owner's buffalo ritual rests primarily with the iniskim. An informant tells us that though very old and formerly used exclusively for buffalo, the ritual was afterwards found efficacious in securing horses, success in war, health, and prosperity.

A point of some interest is the occurrence of the iniskim in other bundles. Thus, we find it in the bundles for several of the painted tipis and in the beaver bundle.

Some rocks too large to be moved were spoken of as iniskim. The Piegan say that on the northeast part of their reserve was one of these stones formerly visited for prayers and offerings. South of the old agency is a rock, shaped like a bear sitting on his haunches with paws to his face. Indians would paint the rock, pray to it and make offerings of tobacco, beads, clothing, etc. Formerly, near the mouth of Birch Creek on the Marias was a stone resembling the bust of a man, greatly venerated by the Piegan. Some North Blackfoot on the warpath threw it down and in consequence lost their lives at the hands of enemies, so it is said.

*Comparative Notes.* As part of an Hidatsa shrine, or medicine bundle, Wilson notes three "buffalo stones" two of which are *Baculites* and one a simple pebble.<sup>1</sup> Aside from the name in common, we find the belief that

<sup>1</sup> Pepper and Wilson, 304, 325.

these stones give birth to smaller ones. The Gros Ventre have these stones but seemingly under another name; also the Assiniboine. Among the Arapaho we find two *Baculæ* kept wrapped up in a bag painted red and called centipedes.<sup>2</sup> The interesting point is the very striking correspondence between the Hidatsa and the Blackfoot in contrast to the incidental nature of their reported presence among some other tribes.

<sup>1</sup> Kroeber, a. 275.

<sup>2</sup> Kroeber, b. 443.

## IV. GENERAL CEREMONIAL FEATURES.

The reader has doubtless felt that many of the details of movement and manipulation in the various ceremonies were things common to most or all such procedures and so not distinctive. To some extent this is true. We have not tried to make our accounts of ceremonies complete in minor details because many such are forms in no wise peculiar to a given ritual. While we feel that the ideal treatment in such a paper as this would be, first the presentation of the procedures common to most ceremonies, followed by a topical exposition of the distinctive characteristics for each ceremony, it has not been possible to follow such a plan here since the death of Mr. Duvall. Hence, under this head we shall call attention to a few of these which we hope may serve to reveal the character of the Blackfoot ceremonial scheme.

## BUNDLE WRAPPINGS.

We have used the term bundle for all objects associated with rituals because though these may be but a few feathers, the owner keeps them wrapped up in various pieces of cloth. At present, gaily colored pieces of calico are used, but occasionally silks and other cloth. We could not learn as to the former practice, some informants suggesting that soft skins were used before the introduction of cloth.

## BUNDLE OWNERS IN MOURNING

When a death occurs in the family of a bundle owner, it is usual for a former owner to take the bundle home and care for it. This seems to be a matter of precaution since some of the bereaved ones may take vengeance upon the bundle for not preventing death. For example Duvall writes:—

“I called at — home the other day as one of his daughters had just died. He had one of the — pipes he had owned for a year. His wife felt so bad that she tried to tear the bundle down from the wall, but a man stopped her. She said, she would burn the bundle because it did not save her daughter. Then she threw into the fire her ceremonial moccasins, belonging to the bundle. Others present said she did a very wicked thing. So a former pipe owner took the bundle down and carried

it home to keep until such time as — could go through the sweat house and again receive the bundle. This pipe once belonged to the — society, but since the society was done away with, it is used about the same as other pipes. Please do not make these names public."

The ceremony upon resuming the care of a bundle is called "washing." After a sweat house, the bundle is opened and the ritual demonstrated as in the regular transfer ceremony. Red-plume says that after the fourth night, the owner makes a sweat house, places the pipe on top of it, and calls in the former owner who paints him and removes his mourning clothes. The former owner provides new clothing for which he has to pay.

#### FOUR MOVEMENTS.

The number four seems to have special force in Blackfoot ceremonial thought. When something has been dreamed four times it becomes at once a medicine of certain power. Again, a man seldom refuses the fourth request for a thing: but should he, the petitioner feels insulted. So it is not strange that in most ceremonies we find things performed with three preliminary movements, or feints. Usually in untying a bundle, in picking up a ceremonial object, in making a smudge, etc., the officiating medicine-man makes three movements with the hand as if about to lay hold of the object and takes it up at the fourth. This may be said to be common to all ceremonies.

#### THE RECEIVING SIGN.

In many songs and other parts of rituals where the initial receiving of power or formulae is symbolized, the leader and his assistants often make a gesture, designated by Mr. Duvall as the receiving sign. In some cases, the arms are folded on the breast as if embracing an object and an exclamation of satisfaction uttered. Again, a movement toward the heart may be made with one hand only.

#### THE WING MOVEMENT.

In some songs and parts of ceremonies, as when raising the sun pole at the sun dance, the singers make motions with their arms to symbolize the flapping of wings of the eagle or other mythical birds. Some informants regard this also as a receiving sign, or symbolizing a bird of prey on the hunt. In most singing it is the custom for the leader to make gestures or signs expressing some of the ideas in the songs.

## SUN-WISE MOVEMENTS.

When a bundle is carried out of the tipi it is taken around by the south side and returned by the north. In most ritual demonstrations, the evolutions and dances proceed around the fire in the same general direction: i. e., the seats being toward the west side of the tipi they proceed south of the fire toward the door and around to a point on the north side, then reverse. In placing incense on the smudge, in filling a pipe, etc., the officiator often moves the hand around in a sun-wise circle.

## PASSING THE PIPE.

Smoking is at all times a formal procedure approaching the ceremonial. In a tipi the host hands the pipe across to the one opposite or on his left,<sup>1</sup> who after a few puffs passes it to his left hand neighbor. Thus it proceeds sun-wise to the end of the line. The last man may return it to the host himself, but usually passes it to the one on his right and he to the next, etc., until it again reaches the host who after a few puffs starts it on another round, as before. As the pipe is being returned, no one smokes. However, a medicine-pipe owner may smoke on the return (p. 164). It is not the custom to pass the pipe to the women, who sit on the right of the host, but they have pipes of their own, though the host's wife may pass her pipe, in this case to the right. When men smoke out-of-doors they usually sit in a half-circle and follow the same regulations concerning the passing of the pipe as when within a tipi.

## BUNDLE OWNERS' TABOOS.

Like the taking of a wife, the ownership of a bundle brings in its wake all sorts of obligations, responsibilities, and restrictions to freedom that cannot be escaped. Among these are many curious prohibitions not unlike taboos. Even the simplest bundle requires some restraints of its owner. These are often inconvenient and give every one some concern either as guest or host, for one should be considerate and avoid all things "against the medicines" of those present. That this is by no means a recent development is clear from a passage in Henry's Journal under date of 1811:—

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<sup>1</sup> For position in tipi see Vol. V, 106.

"In smoking there is more ceremony among the Piegiens than I observed in any other tribe. Some of them will not smoke while there is an old pair of shoes hanging up in the tent; some of them must rest the pipe upon a piece of meat; others upon a buffalo's tongue. Some will smoke only their own pipe, which they themselves must light; others, again, must have somebody to light it for them, and then it must be lighted by flame only; no live coal must touch it, nor must the coal be blown into a blaze. No person must pass between the lighted pipe and the fire, particularly when in a tent. The first whiff from the pipe is blown toward the earth, while the stem is pointed up; the second whiff is blown up, and the stem is pointed down, or sometimes to the rising sun; the midday and setting sun may also receive their share of attention. Those ceremonies being over, the pipe is handed around as usual. I once observed a fellow who would not smoke in our houses, but having been given a bit of tobacco, he took his own pipe, went out of doors, and made a hole in the ground in which to rest the bowl while he smoked. Such proceedings are tedious and often troublesome to us in our business when a large band comes in, as the whole performance is slow and serious. They are superstitious to the utmost in various other things; some must have a person to cut their meat into small pieces ready to eat; others always eat and drink out of one particular bowl or dish, which they carry for that purpose; some never taste wild fowl or fish; some never eat particular kinds of flesh, or allow their victuals to be cooked in a kettle used for such viands . . . . After the first round we give them each half a gill of Indian liquor, beginning always with the principal chief, who is about as ceremonious in taking a drink as he is in smoking. He dips his finger into the liquor and lets a few drops fall to the ground; then a few drops are offered above; but he drinks the rest without further delay. Each chief has some particular ceremony to perform before tasting the first glass but after that he gets drunk as fast as possible. . . . While drinking at our houses almost every man is provided with a rattle, to keep chorus with his rude singing. These rattles are made of rawhide, sewed and stretched in the shape of a calabash, and stuffed with sand until they are dry, when they are emptied and small pebbles put into them. The Piegiens are noisy when drinking, but not insolent. Singing and bellowing seem to be their pleasure, while the men and women all drink together."<sup>1</sup>

We have given many illustrations of these taboos under the various descriptive sections of this paper. It will be noted that many of these refer to smoking and noises while in a tipi; but that there is an almost endless variety of other prohibitions at sundry times and places. The penalties for disregarding these injunctions are usually some kind of illness. Sore mouth, sore eyes, blindness, boils, etc., are generally regarded as resulting from such, and for anyone to be so afflicted is of itself evidence of such violations. Curiously enough, the violation, if such it be, cannot always be laid to the victim himself, since by social usage he may be forced to keep his seat while another is doing the very thing his medicine prohibits. For example, if metal must not be struck in the presence of a certain painted-tipi owner, it is not likely that he himself will violate the injunction, but he may be unable to prevent others from doing the striking. His only recourse

<sup>1</sup> Henry and Thompson, 727-731.

is to take the consequences or flee from the tipi where the pounding is going on. Thus a bundle owner must, in a way, submit his fate to the law of accident in taboo violations.

We were told that when a doctor treats one for any disability, he usually lays upon the patient certain similar injunctions that he must always avoid to escape another attack. Yet, while almost every person has at least a few of these taboos, we have so far not met with any that applied to families or bands.

Similar injunctions for Pawnee<sup>1</sup> bundles have been reported and also for the Cheyenne<sup>2</sup> medicine arrows.

#### OPENING BUNDLES.

It is safe to state that in the ritualistic ceremony for every bundle the chief phase is its opening. As a Blackfoot might express it, every knot and cord is sung off the bundle and the contents out into view. A smudge is made, the bundle brought down from its place in the tipi and put into position, each movement coming at certain stages of the songs. Thus, they proceed gradually until the entire bundle is undone. With very small bundles, the procedure is usually limited to a smudge and the unwrapping of the contents. The songs may accompany, or follow, as the case may be, but the conception is essentially the same for all, i. e., the objects contained therein cannot be exposed except in the ceremonial way. At the end of a ceremony, however, the bundle is again tied up without formalities of any kind.

#### DANCING.

In all the longer rituals there is some dancing though this seems to be incidental. After the bundle is opened, the ritual offers a number of dance songs or songs without words, in unison with which one or more persons dance about with some object. This dancing may be said to constitute a definite phase of the ritual. So far as we know, there was no special form for these dances each individual being free to choose his own steps. In many ceremonies, the dancing is by some of the guests. Thus, an ex-owner of a pipe bundle may dance with the stem, or in fact, anyone may do it if he cares to take the risk. Women cannot own bundles directly, except in the

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<sup>1</sup> Grinnell, (c), 351.

<sup>2</sup> Grinnell, (d), 563.



case of the natoas, but they may dance with certain objects, as for example, in the beaver ritual (p. 183). Such dancing should not be confused with group dancing which is the chief feature of collective ceremonies.

#### THE RITUAL.

This has been discussed at some length (p. 100) but it may not be amiss to repeat that it is a formal interpretation of the original transfer from a supernatural to a natural person. It is normally opened by the narration of an origin myth followed by the first song of the smudge whence proceeds the opening of the bundle, and finally, dancing, praying, and singing over the contents. The same general scheme seems to underly all rituals of the Blackfoot. It is true that this is not so clear for the very simple rituals, but even in them we have the myth, the smudge, the unwrappings, and the singing. In most cases, the precise evolutions are fixed in order and form, the songs being the vital elements.

#### PAINTING.

As among all Indians of the Plains, so with the Blackfoot, face painting is practically universal for all ceremonies. In fact no bundle ceremony is conceivable which does not require a definite style of painting. In connection with the previous descriptions of medicine bundles we have described various examples of such painting and explained the symbolism of the designs. Accompanying all the large bundles is a secondary bundle containing among other things, many bags of paint. In a previous paper <sup>1</sup> we have enumerated the various kinds of paint used, all of native preparation. With all rituals the supernatural transferrer either paints or exhibits a style of painting to the one receiving power and lays upon him the injunction to do likewise; hence, to expect to work the formula without having one's face painted in the authorized mode is out of the question.

Some rituals require body painting but most of them seem to concern themselves only with the face and hands. It may be that this is in part the effect of change in clothing due to white influence but it seems that the Blackfoot were originally well clothed.<sup>2</sup> Whence we may expect a lack of highly developed body painting.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 5, 132.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 5, 120.

## PRAYERS.

It is scarcely too much to say that the Blackfoot are given to inordinate prayer. They will pray for permission to speak of sacred things, to tell religious narratives, in fact to do any unusual serious thing. From one point of view, the whole proceeding in the bundle ceremony is a prayer, and many Indians seem conscious of such significance, yet formal prayers are a part of every ritual. However, the words and contents are not fixed, each shaping the expression to his desires (p. 182). It is common to address prayers to the dead as well as to supernatural beings. We collected a few texts of which the following are Duvall's translations.

The following is a prayer to the dead medicine-pipe owners:—

Okōhe! okōhe! iyo!<sup>1</sup> Painted-buffalo-tipi, Ear-rings, The-only-medicine-pipe-man, Calf-bull, help me, help me. Red-eagle, I call on you especially to help me. Help me for this now, that my family may prosper, that my children may prosper. Try to show us mercy that we may live to your old age.<sup>2</sup> This I have chosen now. Your medicine-pipes you have left them behind because of your old ages.<sup>3</sup> We beseech you to help us to old age. You pipe men have used paints all these years; I want to be fortunate in the long use of these paints. I want to be fortunate in the long use of the sacred prairie turnip, in the sweet pine smudge. Take pity on me especially for these, your own children. You pipe men were long fortunate in acquiring horses and other property. I want to be fortunate in acquiring many of these things. Take pity on me for this. These, your paints and other things, I have chosen all of them. Let me dance happily the medicine-pipe ceremony through all the summer days. For all this now, you medicine-pipe men, I beseech you. We are all saved, old ages we shall all have.

The following is a prayer to the thunder made by a medicine-pipe owner:

Okōhe! okōhe! iyo! Thunder, we beseech you, we beseech you. Help me, help me. Help me in that for which I have called upon you, for old age, the ability to escape dangers. Have mercy on me thunder, that wing sign,<sup>4</sup> that food, that good tobacco. All these have been put away for you

<sup>1</sup> These are expressions used only in prayer, signifying listen, take heed, we beseech you, etc.

<sup>2</sup> It is believed that usually owners of medicine-pipes will live to advanced age; hence, the request that the suppliant also be permitted to live a long life.

<sup>3</sup> The idea is that the only way in which they could be separated from their medicine-pipes was by their becoming so old that death was absolutely inevitable.

<sup>4</sup> When medicinemen wish to get property, etc., they often make wing-like motions with their hands symbolizing the hawk or eagle flying about hunting. Hence, in a figurative way, the name for the sign is sometimes used in prayers and ceremonies to signify the property or fees expected (p. 247).

that you may do this for me. Have pity on all children and all women, all the old men, and middle-aged men, and married men. Try to take notice of them; try to take notice of them. Grant them safety; grant them safety. We are glad to meet you again for the sake of fortunate days. For this, have mercy on me for I have chosen for myself many summer days that I may live happily; that I may see many snows. Try to show me mercy; take heed.

The following is a prayer to the sun:—

Okōhe! okōhe! natosi! iyo! Sun, take pity on me; take pity on me. Old age, old age, we are praying to your old age, for that I have chosen. Your children, morningstar, seven stars, the bunched stars, these and all stars, we can call upon them for help. I have called upon all of them. Take pity on me; take pity on me that I may live a good life. My children now, I have led them to old age. That which is above, now I choose, take pity on me. Iyo! Now then, you people, I have called upon you sincerely for help. Especially for this, take pity on me. Good days and happy nights, for that take pity on me. Good days and happy nights is what I have called upon you for. You must listen to me. Iyo! Old age let me lead my children to it. Let me get a stock of many horses and other things. Take pity on me and grant all this. Then take pity on me that I may get the full pay for all my work. Iyo! Take pity on me; take pity on me; take heed.

A distinguished leader of ceremonies said that in prayers, as well as in all work with rituals, the officiator should keep his attention fixed firmly upon the desired end. "Keep thinking it intensely all the time," he advised. This he believed to be the secret of success in all medicine practices.

#### HORSES AS CEREMONIAL GIFTS.

In practically every transfer of a medicine bundle, however small, a horse or horses must be given as a fee. The association is so fixed that one must suspect the present system of transferring bundles to have developed in its present form since the introduction of the horse. In a previous publication we reviewed in brief the various attempts to fix the date for the introduction of horses to the Blackfoot country noting the earliest definite statement as that of Umfreville for 1784.<sup>1</sup> We are now, thanks to the investigations of Miss Agnes C. Laut, able to place the date at 1754. She finds in the unpublished journal of Anthony Hendry evidences that the Blackfoot were in his day well provided with horses and from the Journal

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 5, 19.

of Matthew Cockling, 1772, further confirmation of Hendry's statement that "All were riders — men, women, children." According to him, "The Blackfeet's entire lives were spent doing two things — hunting and raiding the Snakes of the South for horses."<sup>1</sup> This evidence supports the estimate of Father Ravalli<sup>2</sup> quoted by Clark to the effect that the Pend D'Oreille first came in contact with horses about 1745. It appears then quite probable that the horse has been known to the Blackfoot for nearly two centuries which is ample time for it to have become firmly associated with any ceremonial system in vogue and no doubt ample time to have been known at the origin and inception of many medicine bundles described in the previous pages.

A correspondent in the *Los Angeles Times*, May 22, 1910, in discussing the presence of wild horses in certain parts of Virginia states that in 1649 there were but three hundred horses in the colony, but that by 1669 so many had been imported and the natural increase had been so great, that they had become a burden by reason of their depredations. In consequence of this, further importation was forbidden and in 1662 a tax was laid upon horses and owners were requested by law to confine their stock. In 1689 wild horses had become so numerous in the colony that one of the principal sports of the young men was to hunt them. We refer to this because it suggests the possibility of horses reaching the Indians of the Mississippi Valley from the East as well as from the Southwest. For if horses were running in the woods of Virginia at this early date we see no reason why they should not have found their way on their own account to the prairies of the West. We mention this because the general tendency has been to refer the introduction and distribution of the horse to the Indians of the Plains entirely to the Spanish settlements of the Southwest. Though the Indians of the East lived in the woodlands and could not use the horse in hunting, they nevertheless did use him for traveling, as many early accounts show. Thus, there is every reason to believe that the horse was owned and occasionally made the object of intertribal trade by the Indians of the Woodlands at a very early date, suggesting the possibility of its introduction to the Plains from the East as well as the Southwest.

#### THE SMUDGE ALTAR.

Certainly for every bundle, however small, and for almost every formal ceremonial some vegetable substance is burned on a special altar so as to give forth considerable smoke, or to make a smudge. The most universal

<sup>1</sup> *Laut*, Vol. 1, 352, 378.

<sup>2</sup> *Clark*, 300.

smudge plant is the sweetgrass (*Scirastana odorata*), but sweet pine (*Abies, lasiocarpa*), narrow leaved puccoon (*Lithospermum linearifolium*), and wild parsnip (*Leptotactnia multifida*) are used as required by the various rituals.<sup>1</sup> The usual procedure is for an assistant to take an ember from the fire by means of wooden tongs made from a forked stick and lay it on the smudge place. The leader of the ceremony then takes some of the smudge substance and drops it on the ember. All those about to handle parts or accessories of a bundle hold their hands in the smoke and often make the receiving sign. Not infrequently, a new smudge is made for each stage of the ceremony. Many bundles require two daily smudges in the tipi where they are kept. The normal position of the smudge place is back of the fire where the grass and surface soil is cleared away, thus forming a kind of altar. In shape these are rectangular, triangular, or circular, as the ritual may require. Usually, a little mound is raised in the center upon which the fire is placed. The most interesting point, however, is that the surface of the smudge place is frequently worked out in symbolic designs by the use of colored earth, the whole suggesting the sand paintings of the Southwest. A series of these, in outline, is shown in Fig. 35 and further details have been given under the various rituals to which they belong.

The smudge altar for the beaver is simple (Fig. 35a), being a circular cleared space in which is a slight depression emphasized by a circular ridge of earth. The tongs and sweetgrass are shown in their normal positions. Both the inner and outer circles, symbolize the den of the beaver.

For the smoking-otter (Fig. 35b), a triangular place is cleared and the surface first covered with white earth. A small depression is made in the center for the fire. Needles of the sweet pine are used, a bag of which lies at the rear. The present owner of the smoking-otter says that the triangle represents a heart, the heart of the otter. Sometimes a circular smudge place is used and symbolizes a hole in the ice used by otters.

The catcher's pipe (Fig. 35c) used a place about one foot square and four inches deep with a depression in the center for the fire. Most medicine-pipes use this form, said by some to represent holes in the earth made by the thunder.

For the hair-lock suits a more elaborate form is used (Fig. 35d). The grass is cleared from a space about two feet square and covered with fine white earth. The crescent moon is then laid out in black bordered by yellow. The two circular designs are of the same colors and represent the sun and morningstar respectively. The two narrow rectangles are in red and represent sun dogs, or perhaps beams. Back of this altar is a row of buffalo chips covered with sage grass.

<sup>1</sup> Determinations of plants by McClintock, 528.

For the natoas we have another type of altar (Fig. 35e). A hole thirty inches square is excavated to a depth of six inches. Around three sides is a raised border of sods about six inches wide and three high, upon which

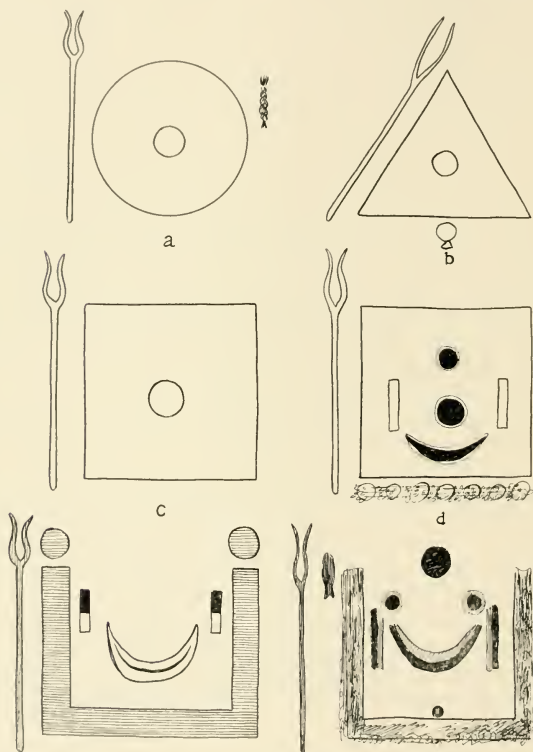


Fig. 35. Smudge Altars; *a*, the beaver bundle; *b* the smoking-otter; *c* the catcher's medicine-pipe, the ground is red, the size about one foot square; *d* the hair-lock suits, about two feet square; *e* the natoas, about thirty inches square and six inches deep; *f* the four-buffalo-head yellow painted-tipi, one foot square.

creeping juniper is laid. White earth is spread over the bottom of the square. On this the moon is marked out in yellow with a narrow black center. The two bands are in yellow and black representing sun dogs. At

the ends of the sod border are two circular places for the fire, the one on the right represents the morningstar, that on the left the mistaken-morningstar.

The form for the buffalo-painted tipis is shown in Fig. 35f. The grass is cleared from a place about one foot square and bordered on three sides by creeping juniper. A crescent in yellow and black represents the moon, while the morningstar and the mistaken-morningstar are similarly laid out near its horns. The two bands in yellow and black are sun dogs. The spot at the back represents the seat of an iniskim, or buffalo rock. The fire is placed on the spot in front. Beside the tongs is a bag of smudge materials.

The foregoing are but a few types in general use. We have seen some with black and red grounds, some with yellow, and a few with realistic figures. As a rule, the smudge place for a ceremony is prepared according to a definite ritual and the paint for the designs strewn on with the fingers, accompanied by the appropriate songs. So universal, however, is the ownership of bundles large and small that most every tipi has a regular smudge place that is used without fail at least twice a day. The form of this is determined by the owner's chief bundles. Indians living in houses make a wooden tray and fill it with earth upon which the smudge altar is arranged. As they always place the stove in the center of the room, the smudge tray will be found just back of it, a location corresponding to its original place in the tipi.

It seems singular that we have among the Blackfoot a combination of an incense altar and dry painting. The altar is itself of symbolic form and as such has a much wider distribution among the tribal medicine series than the dry painting. In the *Handbook of American Indians*, dry painting is credited to the Navajo, Apache, the various Pueblo tribes, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Blackfoot. To this we may add the Dakota. Thus, in a general way, it is continuous throughout a large section of the continent. So far as we know, the Blackfoot is the only tribe regarding the painting as an incidental feature in incense altars, or as supplementary to the form symbolism.

#### THE SWEAT HOUSE.

All important bundles and ceremonies require a sweat house, though such seems not to have been used with shields and headdresses. For the sun dance bundle a special form is used, one hundred willows entering into its construction. The usual form requires twelve to fourteen willows twined into an oval frame. When in use, blankets or robes are thrown over the frame. A hole is dug in the center for the hot stones, the dirt must be placed at the west side along the outer wall. These holes differ in shape:



circular for the beaver bundle; square for the sun dance bundle; rectangular for some medicine-pipe ceremonies; heart-shaped or triangular for the pipe transfer, the horns, buffalo tipis, etc. The circular form when used with the beaver bundle represents the entrance to a den, in some other ceremonies it represents the sun; the triangular form is usually the buffalo head. The number of stones is usually optional.<sup>1</sup>

In the main, all ordinary sweat house ceremonies are the same. The songs used are the sun offering songs and the sun, moon, morningstar and Scar-face are called upon in the prayers.<sup>2</sup> Only men enter the sweat house. Women or men may act as the attendants, arranging the covers, tending the fire, passing in the stones, water, etc. The same frame may be used many times but the stones must not be the same. It is said that some men get very fond of going into the sweat house and so go in on the least provocation. Young men rarely enter, however, the first introduction often being at the transfer of important medicines and many men never have the experience.

Although the procedure in a sweat house is formal and there seem to be some definite songs, the transfer idea does not enter. No one holds the right to it and it is never formally acquired.

The making of a sweat house, or providing one, and issuing an invitation to a person is in a way a sacrifice upon the part of the giver and also lays an obligation upon the recipient to perform some ceremonial service. Thus, a visiting medicine bundle owner will be given a sweat house by his host; if a child is to be named, one may be made for the namer; when offerings are to be made the sun, one is made for the officiator, etc.

The door must face the east and the fire for heating the stones is on the east side. The stones are carried and handed in with two forked sticks, but inside are handled by two straight sticks. Should a stone be dropped it cannot be used. An eagle wing or a buffalo tail is used to beat the skin while in the vapor and at this point a grunting noise is made, the conventional sign for buffalo. The covers are put down and raised four times, or there are four baths. In each, while songs are sung, water is poured on the stones in seven dashes using buffalo horn spoons and formerly small wooden bowls. Some informants say the usual number of songs is sixteen. A smudge is made at the beginning. Medicine-pipe owners use a buffalo skull

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<sup>1</sup> If at any point a heated stone falls to the ground, it must be left where it lands. It would bring ill luck to use it.

<sup>2</sup> One informant dissents from the statement of others in that no songs can be considered sweat house songs. He claims that in the ceremony the first songs from a ritual owned by the leader are sung. In case he never owned a bundle of consequence, he may use the songs used by some one for whom he once formally made a sweat house. This is probably a mere quibble since other informants regard the offering songs as the proper sweat house songs, recognizing that they have other functions.

as in the sun dance bundle and in many cases bundles are placed on top while the ceremony proceeds, but so far as we know, they are never taken inside.

While the one hundred willow sweat house was brought down by Scar-face, the mythical origin of the ordinary sweat house is somewhat complicated. Scabby-round-robe seems to have been one of the first to use it. The following narrative by Takes-the-gun-on-top gives many points of interest:—

Once a man who was very fond of hunting and was successful in killing many kinds of birds and big game camped alone with his family far away from any other camps. He did not believe much about the sun and stars, but, at times, he would make offerings of birds and buffalo calf skins to the sun. He did this for a long time but did not think it meant anything to himself. That is why people ever since that time make offerings to the sun and stars.

As this man had been hunting for some time he had many furs and feathers, and many different colored buffalo robes like the beaver and white buffalo. Though he did not believe in praying to the sun, still he made offerings to it.

One morning, a fine looking young man came to him and said, "I was sent here to tell you to have your tipi fixed up. Clear away all the grass, place some loose white dirt on the ground, make a smudge place at the rear by forming a square with creeping juniper on the south, west, and north side, and leave the opening towards the door."

The square was not cut out but the juniper was simply placed on the three sides and a lighter color of dirt placed on the inside. It was about eighteen inches square. On the west side were placed four buffalo chips in a row and juniper was placed on them.

The young man said to the man, "My father is coming to visit you. He told me to tell you how to arrange your tipi." After the man had arranged his tipi he seated himself and waited for his guests. He had not been waiting long when he heard someone approaching, singing. The people who were singing went around to their right to the south side of the tipi and entered the tipi by the left of the door and sat down on the guest side. There were three in the party, an old man, his wife, and their son. The old man had a smudge stick, and some braided sweetgrass with which he made smudges. The old man sat to the north of the smudge place while his wife sat at his left, and the son to the left of her.

He told his host to make a sweat house and how he was to do it. He was to use fourteen willows, and fourteen rocks were to be heated. The grass was all to be cleared away in the sweat house and a light colored dirt spread

inside. The hole was to be circular, about eight inches deep, and about twelve inches in diameter. The house was to be covered with robes; the door to be covered with a beaver-colored buffalo robe, while at the west side a white buffalo robe was to be used.

The old man, old woman and son did not go in at once but went around the south side of the sweat house and then entered. The man went out to the sweat house and the old man told him to bring in four of the heated stones and place them in a row near the hole. The man had a forked stick with willow tied across the fork with which he carried in the stones. He placed the four heated stones in a row on the west side of the hole and the fifth one in the center. The old man said to him, "Be careful, do not drop any of the stones while carrying them." The old man now placed some sweetgrass on each of the five stones, making a smudge. A wooden bowl and a horn spoon were then brought in. The horn spoon was used for spraying the stones with water from the wooden bowl. Four short sticks were handed to the old man with which he placed the stones in the hole. The rest of the stones were now brought in and placed in the hole. At first, the old man washed the stones off with a little water.

The old man told the man to lower the door flap and then he started to sing: "Hurry and make me a sweat house." Then the woman sang: "When you have made me a sweat house." The young man sang: "When you have made me a sweat house." During the songs the old man threw seven spoonfuls of water on the stones. Then he sang another song: "Let us have a sweat house." The old woman sang: "We will have a sweat house." The son sang: "We will have a sweat house." Seven songs are sung and water is thrown on the stones seven times and the covers are raised. In all, this is repeated seven times, and then they emerge. In all the songs the words were about the same.

When they came out the man said to the old man, "You may have the beaver colored and the white buffalo robe as a gift." They went to the man's tipi and entered as before. When the old man was seated he called for some powdered charcoal, some yellow paint, and an eagle feather. After he had received these things he asked for a new right footed moccasin with a soft buckskin sole. The eagle tail feather was to mark out the crescent in the smudge place, the moccasin to make the mark deeper, the charcoal and yellow paint were to color the crescent. When these things were placed before the old man he sang asking for eagle tail feathers which the man gave to him. The old woman sang asking for feathers, and the man gave her a bunch of feathers. In his song, the son asked for feathers and was given a bunch. Then they each asked for one hundred feathers which they were given. They sang six of these songs. The seventh song

was: "Hurry and mark me out." This refers to the moon in the smudge place. The old man marked out the moon in the smudge place. The next seven songs follow. Holding the moccasin, the old man sings: "Buffalo I take. Buffalo have started," referring to the moccasin which is made of buffalo hide. The next song is: "Buffalo is starting, looking for a holy place to sit," and then the moon is marked out deeper. He then takes up the yellow paint, and sings: "My paint, I take it; it is powerful. Decorate me nicely." This refers to the old man. The old woman and the son repeat the same words. Then he placed the yellow paint on half of the moon, took up the charcoal and sang: "Black I have taken," all three singing the same words. He placed the powdered charcoal on the inner circle of the moon. Then the sun dogs were marked out and colored black and yellow (see Fig. 35f). (As shown in the figure the smudge place is framed on three sides with creeping juniper.) A circle is made near each horn of the moon to represent the morningstar and the mistaken-morningstar, the morningstar being to the left. A black dot is placed in the center where the smudge is to be made. Sweetgrass is used for the smudge. While the old man was marking out the moon, sun dogs, and stars, seven songs known as feather songs were sung. There were also seven other songs.

Now when the old man began to sing the next song which ran: "White buffalo robe I want," the host said, "Here is a white buffalo robe for you." Then the old woman says: "Elk robe I want," and the man gave her an elk robe. The young man asked for fisher skin in his song and the man gave him one. While the three were asking for these things there were seven more songs sung. The old man started another song: "I wonder who has given me all these robes and feathers." The man thought to himself, "I am the man who has been giving you all these things." This refers to things this man had given to the sun.

Now the old man could read his host's thoughts and said to him, "My son, you are very wise for knowing what we wish. You seem to understand me. I am the sun, my wife is the moon, and our son is the morningstar. Since you have given me so many things I have come down to give you some in return. Listen carefully to my songs, notice the way I make the smudge, and the sweat houses. I am giving you this power and the right to these songs, the sweat house, and smudge place. These songs must be sung when sacrifices are made to me. All of them are called the sacrifice songs. There are more than a hundred of them.

The words for the sun song are: 'Sun, as I have given you things take pity on me and spare me.' In other words, Sun, since I have given you presents have mercy on me and spare my life. There were seven of these songs. Sun then took up the forked smudge stick and taking a buffalo

dung which was broken at the corners, painted it black, and placing it between the forks of the stick, and holding it up towards the fire, he sang, "Buffalo I have taken. Buffalo is starting," and moved the stick slowly towards the fire stopping four times before he reached the fireplace. The last words of the song were: "I wonder what enemy's chief I will kill." Then he knocked the dung from the stick into the ashes and covered it up with ashes, waving the smudge stick and whooping four times. The sun sang during all these movements and said to the man, "By throwing the buffalo dung in the fire you will kill some of your enemies' chiefs for we baked him in the fire when we baked the dung."

The sun explained everything to the man and told him he could sing these songs when he was going to make offerings to the sun. "Make a sweat house first, just as you have done, and when you are through with the sweat house you must arrange the smudge place as I have shown you and sing the songs I have sung. Strike the robe or shirt or whatever else you are offering me with a stick on one end and tie sage grass at the ends and about the middle of the stick. Paint the object you are offering me just as the smudge place is marked. If you should sing these songs or make the offerings at night do not use the yellow paint, use only the black. The crescent represents the moon; the oblong marks, the sun dogs; the two dots, the morningstar and the mistaken-morningstar."

Before the robe or shirt that is offered is painted, the one making the sacrifice must go through the whole ceremony, singing all the songs. The robe may be fastened to a stick with sage grass before the singing begins, but the sweat house, the making of the smudge place, and the rest of the ceremony must be carried out entirely.

At the close of the ceremony a closing song is sung and the robe which is offered is used to brush out the moon and stars marked out in the smudge. The juniper, sage grass, and buffalo dung, and loose dirt used in the smudge are taken out and placed at the back of the tipi. The offering is either tied up in a tree or placed on some hill spread out flat on the ground or weighted down with stones.

These songs are not called the sweat house songs but are known as the offering songs and are sung in groups like all other medicine songs. There are a great number of these songs and the first are sung in groups of seven.

Unusual forms of the sweat house may be used. In modern times in winter, a sweat house may be set up inside of a house, provided there is an earth floor. When willows are not available back rest sticks, or other stakes, are driven around in a circle and joined by cords, both around and crosswise. Over all, blankets and robes are thrown.

## SONGS.

We have neither the intention nor the knowledge to consider the musical side of this problem, our concern being entirely with the functions of Blackfoot songs. One of our informants has given a discourse upon the subject that may be taken as an introduction. It was as follows:—"All Blackfoot songs, except those learned from other tribes, are said to have been obtained through dreams or visions. There seems to be no idea that one could deliberately compose a song. A man may be walking along and hear a bird, insect, stone, or something else singing; he remembers the song and claims it as especially given to him. A man may get songs from a ghost in the same way. It seems that the Piegan have very good memories for songs since they need but hear them once. Of course, this is true only of dream or vision songs. There are many songs learned from other tribes, as those that came in with medicine bundles. The grass dance songs nearly all came in this way, but some were dreamed later by the dancers.

"One never gets power without a song to go with it; hence, there is no medicineman but has his own songs. In olden times, when a painted-tipi was transferred, all the owners of painted-tipis would gather and help the purchaser out with new songs. Most owners of medicine bundles, as medicine-pipes, beaver bundles, smoking-otters, and all painted-tipi owners usually dream new songs after obtaining their bundles. Anyone may dream of songs, however; but the owner of a bundle is almost certain to do so.

"Now, some songs, as those of the medicine-pipe, the kit fox society, and the horse medicine are very powerful. It is dangerous to sing them as a joke. (We omit a number of cases cited in evidence.)

"All good warriors never enter battle without first giving their war songs and even during the fight they sing because the songs are supposed to protect them from all dangers. Thus, it seems that the Piegan have a song for nearly everything they do. The doctors all have their own songs and we often hear one of them accusing others of using his songs in doctoring. A doctor must get his own songs and power and cannot transfer them to another. Yet, when a great doctor dies one may be given songs by his ghost in a dream or vision.

"Women get songs and also power through dreams, but usually these are old women. One rarely hears of a young woman having great power as a doctor. Some women have power to bring ghosts around and talk with them.

"The cheering, or praise songs, are usually sung by old men and women, especially the latter. One rarely hears a young man or woman rendering these songs. As the moon was an old woman when she was singing the



praise songs for Scar-face when he showed great bravery in killing the dangerous birds, so even nowadays, it is usual for old women to sing the cheering songs.

"Men are the better singers. They are less backward about their singing and learn more songs, though the women could do as well, if they had the chance, for women are not supposed to try to learn all the different songs like the men. One seldom hears women singing alone in any gathering, though they join the male singers in the ceremonies with the different societies and medicine bundles. This is not because they do not know the songs, but because of good form. It is not proper for women to sing alone in public. However, when women play the stick game, they sing without men and also when women doctor. They may sing the cheering songs alone and occasionally one or more old women may sing at the sun dance. A woman alone or at home may sing all she likes, provided her husband permit. Yet, it is not good form for a young woman to be frequently singing even at home, for it is a sign of boldness, etc. On the other hand, an old woman may sing all she likes, she is so old that no notice is taken of her singing. This is why the men lead in singing and the knowledge of songs.

"Old women are skillful in singing babies to sleep. These cradle songs seem to be chiefly improvised affairs. Some of them run, 'Come, wolf, bite this baby; he won't sleep. Come, old woman, with your meat-pounder and smash this baby's head. Come in drunken man, get this baby, he will not stop crying.'

"There are some humorous songs as the mice songs, Napiwa doctoring the girl he killed, the Blood frozen in the mountains, and a similar song about the Piegan. Some of the wolf songs are quite laughable. When boys are shooting at a mark with arrows, they have a special song. Also, in the skunk game a special song is used.<sup>1</sup>

"In all songs there are few words. In many rituals there are but three or four real words to a song. The Blackfoot laughs at a white man's songs, he says, 'White man talks all the way through his songs.' The Blackfoot are given to beating time when they sing. They beat a drum, use a rattle, bells, beat with a stick, or with the foot. They can scarcely sing without beating time.

"When men and women sing together the latter wait and join in with their voices at certain parts only, where the combination of voices sounds better. This is something like white man's singing when all join in the

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. 7, 58. It is usual for the leader of the ceremony only, to utter the words in the songs, the other singers giving only the conventional syllables. This makes absolute exactness of wording unnecessary and may account for the differences we have observed in the songs for a given ritual as reported by different owners.



chorus. As the women have fine voices they improve the singing at certain points.

"When a good story teller is narrating and comes to the place where singing was done, he will sing the song and then go on with the tale. This makes the story more interesting."

The reader who has struggled through these pages has doubtless been impressed with the almost overwhelming number of songs associated with the various bundles for we have, in fact, recorded but a fraction of them. On the other hand, it often happens that songs fall into groups and that the same group may be used with different bundles; nevertheless, the number of songs is truly surprising. Since the song seems to be the vital element in the ritual, we may at this point discuss songs in general irrespective of medicine-bundle associations. From our standpoint, all Blackfoot songs are included in the following classes: those anyone may sing; medicine-bundle songs; and those of absolute individual ownership.

The following is Duvall's list of groups or classes of songs segregated under the preceding heads:—

A. Songs of general ownership

1. Cheering songs
2. Victory songs (hair-lock songs)
3. Wolf songs
4. The all-comrade societies' songs
5. The night singers' songs
6. Raising-the-pole songs
7. Weather-dancers' songs
8. Gambling, or game, songs
9. Dancing association songs (grass dance, tea dance, etc.)
10. "Smoking around at night" songs (kissing dance, etc.)
11. Scout songs

B. Medicine bundle, or transferable, songs.

1. Regular ritual songs (all bundles)
2. War songs
  - a. All shield songs
  - b. All weasel-tail suits (Courage, or running-walk, songs)
  - c. Some of the painted-tipi songs
  - d. Some of the medicine-pipe songs
  - e. Some of the beaver songs
  - f. Some of the smoking-otter songs
  - g. Some of the natoas songs
  - h. Some of the bear knife songs
  - i. Some of the lance songs

3. The tail-feather, or sun-offering songs (sweat house songs)
- C. Individual, or non-transferable, songs
  1. Doctor's songs
  2. Individual war songs
  3. Restoring life songs

*Songs of General Ownership.* The preceding discussions have made the reader familiar with the Blackfoot conception of the transfer and the peculiar ownership of supernatural rapport. Many songs fall under this scheme, but there are others that anyone may use, regardless of any transfer ceremony.

The cheering, or praise songs have been noted in the introductory statement. The victory songs are sometimes spoken of as the hair-lock, or scalp songs. They are sung by a successful war party approaching, and in sight of, their home camp; also when a victorious party falls in with a friendly party. At the scalp dance, or victory celebration, the cheering songs are used, and at any time when a man recounts his deeds.

The various all-comrade societies have their own songs. Young people sometimes go about the tipis at night singing and there are special songs for these night-singers.<sup>1</sup> At such times men and women sometimes ride double. Very popular songs are those used when about to erect the sun dance structure and when approaching a new country or the camp of an alien but friendly tribe. McClintock speaks of these as the tribal hymn.<sup>2</sup> The weather dancer is an important functionary in the sun dance and enters in procession, for this also there are songs. For gambling and games there are distinctive songs, the most popular series being that of the stick game. The dances, or dance associations all have their own songs, as the tea dance, the kissing dance, the grass dance, etc. In these as well as in all other cases a Blackfoot has no difficulty in telling to what particular series any song he may hear belongs.

When a war party is out, the scouts are charged with responsibility and around their functions centers much that is ceremonial. The scout songs are sung by the party as the scouts set out and during their absence. When they are seen returning, the party forms in a circle, while the scouts shout three or four times. As they come in, one of them goes to the leader and whispers his report, after which the leader makes an announcement.

Perhaps the most unique of all are the wolf songs, or "tapping the stick" songs.<sup>3</sup> They are sung by the different members of a war party at night

<sup>1</sup> McClintock, 281, 515.

<sup>2</sup> McClintock, 515.

<sup>3</sup> Same as Grinnell's "peeling a stick song," (c), 251. Duvall writes in substance: this tapping refers to beating time with a stick or ram-rod on the barrel of a gun as when a war party is singing. Most writers call these love songs perhaps because they refer to women, but they are not love songs at all in the sense white people understand the word.

and again when in sight of the enemy, but never in battle. They are supposed to give success and good fortune. They may, however, be sung by anyone, men, women, and children, at any time. Girls often sing them to their lovers and boys to their sweethearts. All the wolf songs end with a howl, or wolf call, which expresses or symbolizes whatever the singer wishes to obtain, because the wolf howls when he is out on quest.

When a war party is forming, they gather in the evening and sing wolf songs, beating time upon a rawhide. Some dance with a rope in one hand and a quirt in the other, whipping their legs, to symbolize the expected capture of horses from the enemy. However, there is very little dancing, the party usually sitting and singing songs. From the time of this meeting until the party turns back for home, certain rules must be carefully observed. In handing a knife to another, the handle and not the blade must be toward the hand to receive it; otherwise, you hand out danger as well as the knife. There must be no disputes. No harsh or vile words are to be used. No one should speak of escapades or relations with women. No other than wolf songs are to be sung, except in face of the enemy. The word shoot must never be mentioned; but in speaking of hunting or war one may sing, "I hit him. I touched him," etc.

After the party has been out a few days and killed some game and camped for the night, the leader announces, "Now, it is time to sing the wolf songs. They will give us good luck in getting horses. Each of you must sing in turn and say a few words used by your sweetheart when you saw her last. You must give her name. You must tell the truth and not lie about any woman; to do so will mean certain ill luck, he alone of all the party will meet with misfortune." It is explained that the affair mentioned must have been of short duration; that soon after meeting the woman, he accomplished his purpose. Should one sing of an affair that was long drawn out or abortive, it will be the same with him when trying to run off the horses of the enemy. Thus, the idea is that one may overcome here as he did in the case of the women. While it is true that in the song, it is usually only some last remark of the woman that is quoted and there is no mention whatever of what took place, the fact that she is named at all is sufficient. And she must be named, even though her husband, brother, etc., may be present. The singer may exhibit a ring, lock of hair, bracelet, awl, etc., the woman gave him, as evidence of truthfulness. The whole party sings in unison but at the point where one is to utter the words all drop to softer tones so that everything may be understood. All keep time by gently tapping gun barrels with ram-rods, or sticks, or by striking two sticks together. After all have sung each speaks out his expectations, as guns, horses, etc. Then they feast upon the meat. The singing and the tapping are not loud, as this is a war party.

The origin of the wolf songs is as follows: Once when a war party was out they heard some one singing, "Calf, I want to eat it." When they looked around they saw a coyote. At the end of each song, he would howl. The leader of the party sent out some of his men to kill a calf and as there were buffalo near, one was soon brought in. The leader said to the coyote, "There is your calf, help us to have good luck." The party went on their way and when they looked back they saw the coyote eating the calf. Now, this war party was very successful and brought in many horses. So ever since war parties sing these songs for good luck.

*Transferable Songs.* When one comes to own a medicine bundle, he likewise owns the ritual and can therefore sing the songs. They are truly his songs.<sup>1</sup> This class then includes all bundle songs, whether the bundles be large or small, the rituals brief or long. The songs usually take their names from the bundle with which they are associated, though in case of long rituals, like the medicine-pipe, and the beaver bundle, there may be sub-groups of songs. Thus in the beaver we have the sun and moon songs, the whistle songs (referring to a whistle the morningstar gave Scar-face), the tobacco songs, the buffalo songs, the smudge songs, the elk songs, etc.

From the standpoint of function, war songs occupy a place at the head of the list. The war songs we have in mind are regarded as the true war songs and are parts of rituals. Further, they are seldom sung except in the regular ceremonies. As indicated in the list they are found in most bundles and in such find their true function, chiefly that of transferring the rapport of the original experience to the new owner. There are, however, war songs sung by warriors when facing danger or just as they are going into battle, to protect them and give them courage. These are associated with small bundles and are, therefore, ritual songs. Thus an informant says, "When enemies are in sight, each warrior makes a smudge, unwraps his little bundle, paints his face, and sings his song or songs. He goes around through the party singing and exhorting them to be brave and ready to do their part." These are of the type considered under personal charms (p. 91).

For further illustration the statement of a Piegan is added:—"When men are to go to war they call upon some old man who has been fortunate or who has handled many bundles. They may make a sweat house and then invite him to enter. When in the sweat house, they ask for some power

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<sup>1</sup> Thus an informant states:—Nowadays, when one purchases, or has transferred to him, a ritual containing one or more songs, the former owner must not sing them. Should he be heard doing so, the new owner makes emphatic protest. Sometimes disputes arise as to ownership of certain songs, because some dishonest man sold the same ritual to several different men. When found out, this makes a scandal.

ritual and that he pray for them while they are on the warpath. Then the old man will give out a song and some object as a plume, feathers, skins, etc., to be worn in battle, also a face painting. He will give instructions as to the ritual and the care of the charm, or bundle. He tells them about dreams, those indicating disaster and those heralding victory. Now, the bundle is opened and the song or songs sung only when about to enter battle or steal into the camp of the enemy to run off horses. When the party is out, the old man prays daily for the success of the one to whom he gave the bundle. If he returns with spoils, the old man receives a portion.

"When warriors are getting ready to go into battle, each paints and opens his little bundle, tying on his person the various objects and sings the song relating thereto. Some ride through the crowd boldly, exhibiting their courage as they sing and exhorting all. Some ride around the outside singing and encouraging everyone."

Though our informants do not make the point clear, it seems that one may call upon medicine-pipe and beaver bundle owners for some object from the bundle to carry to war and the temporary use of its song. This seems to be limited to the true war songs in the ritual. Presents must be given for this either before or after returning from war. It often happened that when one having use of such objects returned with many fine horses, the bundle owner offered to transfer the whole bundle with the ritual. This was partly for the sake of the horses to be received and partly from a feeling that since the warrior had been very successful, the bundle would be best in his keeping.

The foregoing war songs should not be confused with certain individual war songs, or non-transferable songs to be considered later.

*The Tail-feather, Sun-offering, or Sweat House Songs.* These songs were handed down, so it is said, to the original beaver man who in turn transferred them to the natoas ritual and also to the buffalo tipi rituals. They are used in sweat houses when offerings are to be made to the sun, also in the all-smoking ceremonies. According to the tale, the sun, moon, and the morningstar came down one day, made a sweat house for the beaver man and taught him some songs. When the sun sang, he asked for a sweat house, and some tail-feathers; the moon sang for a sweat house and some skins; the morningstar sang for different kinds of feathers. This beaver man was a great hunter, so he had many different pelts, as otterskin, fisher, mink, and beaver, also many kinds of feathers. So the sun and his family came down, appearing to him as people. They began to transfer their powers to him and whatever they asked for in the songs, that the beaver man handed them at once. Thus the songs were transferred. So now these songs seem to be sung in many ceremonies to symbolize the transfer about to take place.

The giving of pieces of cloth, and, in fact any object, to the sun is a common religious duty. Such objects are placed upon hills or hung in trees after formally announcing the offering, singing the sun-offering songs, and performing other rites.

*Doctor's Songs.* Although we have considerable data we are not entirely clear as to how the terms shaman and doctor should be applied to the Blackfoot. Thus, among the Dakota it seems that a shaman is a rare individual who has at some time, at least, had direct communication with a higher power, while a doctor is anyone of many, manifesting skill in handling sickness. On the other hand, a Blackfoot doctor is one having a true supernatural experience that gives him or has power over disease while the medicineman (shaman) may have only the transferred experience of men long since dead. In all this no hard and fast line seems to be drawn by the Blackfoot, each man being known by his specialties rather than by his class. Both the doctoring and shamanistic functions are widely diffused among the people. On one thing however, our informants insist, a doctor regards his chief power as associated with one or two songs, songs given him direct by supernatural agencies and which he cannot transfer. It also follows that no other person can use these songs. The power of these songs is usually specific: i. e., one formula is good only for headache, another for bullet wounds, another for lung-bleeding, etc. Thus, it often happens that a doctor can treat but one particular trouble and since the powers of most men are quite well known, the people know upon whom to call in each case.

Tricks, or manipulations, seem to be credited to powers acquired in the same way but to have no functional relation to anything else. We heard of men able to tie the barrels of guns into knots, spit out bullets, vomit frogs, etc., but these were looked upon as individuals, and not as a class.<sup>1</sup>

A specialized form of these non-transferable songs, certainly more mythical than real, is used with a secret formula to restore life. A man will

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<sup>1</sup> Duvall writes:— Mourning-eagle has power to find anything lost. He first paints his face and then can tell the loser just where the thing will be found. He can also dive into deep water and bring out a live fish. He is also a doctor for the sick. Also he was given the power to exert great strength. Once he placed a large stone on a sweat house and no four men in the camp were able to lift it.

Some men and women have ghosts that stay by them all the time, the ghost being the spirit of a dead person they knew. They talk with the ghost in a peculiar whistling voice but cannot see it. They often feed it by placing a bowl of food behind a curtain or in a dark corner, when one may hear the ghost rattling around. When the bowl is brought out again, it is empty. Anyone caring to hear such a ghost talk may do so by visiting the tipi of a ghost owner at night since ghosts do not talk much in daytime. The tipi must be dark. Some people make fun of such ghosts, claiming they are fakes, while others say it is true. Old women more often have ghost companions than men. Sometimes their ghosts will throw them into faints for a time. Ghosts tell much about the manner of life in the "Sand Hills." They say they cannot travel in windy weather for they are so light they blow away.



confide in a friend that, if he die, he is to perform a certain formula and sing a certain song, when he will revive. Naturally, we recorded no examples of this formula, though it is illustrated in a myth published in our first paper.<sup>1</sup> A considerable collection of these tales could be made without difficulty.

There are also non-transferable war songs of which most men have one each, rarely more. It is not clear, but seemingly one need not have such a song from a direct supernatural source, yet in theory it should so originate. In any event, it remains with the owner always, even with his spirit. It is more than a war song, it is the final appeal, or play, to be made in any moment of peril when all other formulae have failed. In some cases these songs are associated with an intrusive object in the owner's body (p. 80). None of these songs were recorded.

*Grouping and Symbolism.* In practically all large rituals the songs are sung by sevens: i. e., the rests, lectures, and preparations are each separated by seven songs. It is even usual to count songs by sevens, as the first seven, the second seven, etc. So far as we could learn, no ritual counted songs by fours or any other number than seven. There were, of course, many bundles with less than seven songs, but grouping was unnecessary with so small a number.

In most ritual songs we find the terms, Old Man, Old Woman, Young-single-man, and Man. These seem to have a fixed significance, respectively the sun, moon, morningstar, or mistaken-morningstar, and the first beaver man to whom sun gave the offering songs and other powers.

*Comparative Notes:* While a comparative study of Blackfoot songs is out of the question, it may be suggestive to summarize the opinions of James Murie to whom the writer once ran off the entire Blackfoot collection of phonographic records. The Blackfoot manner of singing is quite different from that of the Pawnee but bears some resemblance to that of the Arikara and the Mandan. The medicine-pipe songs seem to have very little resemblance to the Pawnee or Arikara songs. Those of the otter painted-tipi bear a general resemblance to certain Pawnee medicine songs, but this is somewhat doubtful. The victory songs seem to have the same characteristic endings and to be identical among the Blackfoot, Arikara, and Pawnee. The game songs, especially those belonging to the stick game, were the same among many tribes. The grass dance songs have a peculiar rhythm and record No. 468 is identical in rhythm with one of the Pawnee songs, but No. 469 is quite different. The Blackfoot tea dance songs were recognized as similar to Pawnee drinking songs, and No. 472 reminded him of an Ari-

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2,



kara song. The kissing dance of the Blackfoot is analogous to the woman's dance of the Arikara and the songs seem to be the same.

Mr. Murie also ran over the songs for men's societies finding that those of the catchers were similar to the Pawnee crow dancers. No. 450, a kit-fox song seems identical with the Pawnee fox dance song, while No. 447 for the front tails has two songs seemingly identical to buffalo dance songs used by the Mandan and Arikara where they occur about the middle of the ritual when a man imitating the buffalo goes outside of the lodge and dances round about. No. 445 for the all-brave dogs agrees exactly with one for the corresponding society among the Arikara and Pawnee. Nos. 437-41 belonging to the horse medicine ritual occur in similar medicines for the Pawnee and Arikara. For the bull society, Nos. 431 and 432 correspond closely to songs used by the corresponding society among the Arikara.

The Blackfoot sun dance songs reminded Mr. Murie very much of certain Cheyenne songs and he thought that some of the medicine-pipe songs also resembled the Cheyenne. Certain songs in the collection, especially those of the moon series in the beaver ritual and also No. 368, one of the medicine-pipe group, were quite different from anything that Mr. Murie had ever heard. He says further, that the Pawnee have a kind of song not found among the Blackfoot. They have a different way of rendering them. Usually the introduction is sung by one person, the whole assembly joining in the chorus. The Pawnee songs are rather long, and give the story, which, of course, is only slightly expressed in words. A Pawnee may often know the music but still not know the manner of rendering the song or the words which it contains.

He thought it probable that songs were readily handed on from one tribe to another. For example, once when among the Arikara some visiting Gros Ventre induced him to sing two Pawnee songs. Some time after this he heard some Crow Indians singing these same songs and upon inquiry found out that they had learned them from the Gros Ventre.

#### THE TRANSFER.

As we stated at the outset the Blackfoot conception of a ritual, or power, is of something that brings about a relation, or rapport, between the supernatural source and a single individual. A medicine bundle is the material counterpart of the ritual. In initiation, an individual and the supernatural meet face to face, the latter formally announcing that he assumes a relation to the former for certain more or less specific reasons. The conventional expression of this relation takes the form of ritual we have described. The

fundamental conception, however, is that by certain processes a second individual may be substituted for the first and so *ad infinitum*: i. e., the power, or rapport, may be transferred. This transfer is often spoken of as a purchase or sale, because the individual relinquishing the ritual receives property. The conception of the Indian, however, is that the owner of a ritual is given property not to compensate him for its loss, but as an expression of gratitude on the part of the one about to receive it. Nevertheless, the fact is that when one gets a ritual he gives up property, and again, when he parts with it, receives property.

All the bundles described in this paper are subject to transfer. Indeed to the Blackfoot a bundle without this quality would be an absurdity. No matter how large or involved they may become each has, in theory, an individual owner. Elsewhere we have noted that the rituals, or formulae, used in treating the sick are not considered transferable. Also, there is a tendency to regard certain individual experiences (p. 79) as non-transferable; but no rule was discovered, our impression being that the non-transferable character was confined entirely to doctor's formulae and those experiences by which one came to have a presence within upon which life depended. While it is true that any bundle may be appealed to in sickness, such appeals are in the nature of vows, and should not be confused with the treatment of a doctor. Finally, it should be noted that for neither the doctor's formulae nor the internal presence is there a bundle, or definitely associated material object. It is safe to say that to the Blackfoot every unusual dream or vision experience not so excepted is considered authorization for a bundle and a transfer.

Whatever may have been the origin of the transfer conception it eventually became a system with religious, social, and economic functions. It is regarded as desirable to own and transfer many bundles, chiefly since it is a religious duty, gives social prestige and because it is usually a good investment. The transferring experiences of one living under this system may be estimated from the life records of three Piegan men of medium standing and worth.

a. When Bad-old-man was young and unmarried, he bought an otter-skin decorated with weasel tails and small bells on its legs and with its neck wrapped with beads and paid a horse for it. This was used on the warpath. The same summer he bought a war-bonnet and also paid a horse for it. About three years later he bought a weasel-tail suit, paid a horse for it, and about three years after that was presented with another weasel-tail shirt. After four years, he bought a horn bonnet for which he paid a horse. Then he lost the weasel-tail suit in a wheel gambling game and sold

the war-bonnet for a horse. Later, he lost the other weasel-tail shirt in a wheel gambling game. Then his father gave him a feather headdress used in war. A few years later he bought another weasel-tail suit and vowed to dance with a medicine-pipe for which he paid blankets and other small objects. Then he sold the horn bonnet for a horse. He bought a war bonnet with trailers which was used in the horn society.

When he was still a boy his father bought a medicine-pipe. He was included in the transfer which gave him a title to part of the pipe; in other words, he was one of the family. He was painted in the transfer ceremony to designate him as the son of a medicine-pipe owner.

Bad-old-man, is about seventy-five years old and his memory is poor and it is rather hard for him to tell the correct years of the purchase and selling of his things.

b. When Big-brave was nineteen years old, he bought a horn bonnet for which he paid a horse. Later, he lost this bonnet in a wheel gambling game. When he was twenty-one he bought a stick which was to be used on the bridle as horse medicine and paid a horse for this also. These things he got without going through the transfer ceremony. As the stick had many bags of dangerous powdered medicines tied to it Big-brave was afraid to keep it and gave it away.

One time, Big-brave's father dreamed some great power. He made a big bunch of feathers, taking one from all the different birds, a drum, and a red flannel coat trimmed with otterskin and brass buttons. There were fourteen songs with these things and also a rattle which was used as a brave dog rattle. The coat, drum, and feathers were to be used for war and they were transferred to Big-brave who paid a horse for them. He kept these a long time. Finally, the coat was sold among the Piegan, then to the Northern Blackfoot, and back to the Piegan again and when Bull-shoe, the last owner died he was buried with it. Since then Big-brave has made up this coat again and still owns it and the feathers. The drum was sold to Day-rider about three years ago.

When he was twenty-two he bought a straight-up war-bonnet which was transferred to him in the usual way. He gave a horse and other things in payment for it. He says he can only remember eight of the songs which belong to the bonnet. Five days after purchasing it, he sold it without the transfer ceremony to a North Blackfoot for two buffalo robes. The same year he bought a shield for which he paid a horse and other things. There were many songs for the shield but Big-brave can only remember ten. The next winter he bought a weasel-tail suit for which he paid a horse. There were only four songs for this. During the winter he sold the shield

for whisky and the next summer bought an otter painted-tipi for which he paid two horses. This tipi had many songs some of which were known as the tipi songs and others as the iniskim songs. That summer he sold the weasel-tail suit to Bear-chief who paid two horses for it. The next year he bought an entire skin of a fisher which was decorated with bells and weasel skins and was to be used in war. For this he paid a horse. In the transfer ten songs were sung for it. After he had the fisher skin for a year he sold it to a Blackfoot and also sold his otter tipi to Many-white-horses for each of which he received a horse. When he was twenty-nine years old he bought for two horses the snake-water-animal tipi which is said to come from the sun. Most of its songs were iniskim songs. After this he sold it to Tail-feathers for two horses. The next year, he bought a weasel tail suit, paying a horse for it, but he did not buy it through the ceremony since he had been through it before. Then his brother-in-law gave him an otterskin used in war and transferred many songs to him with it. For this he only paid a blanket coat, but sold it ten days later for a horse. When he was thirty-one years old, he bought the smoking-otter and paid four horses for it. A year later he sold it to a Blackfoot for three horses. During the last three years he has bought some of the Crow water medicine which consists of tobacco seeds, a rattle, a wing used as a fan, and a drum. There are many songs that go with these things which were bought from the Crow Indians for three horses and many other things. Big-brave has also had the ghost dance ceremony transferred to him and may lead the dance whenever he is asked to do so.

A few years ago Big-brave dreamed about a pipe known as the black-cover pipe which he made up. Since he sold it, it has been owned by several different people. There are about twenty-one songs for this pipe and the transfer ceremony is about like that of the other black-cover pipes.

c. When Bear-skin was about twenty years old he purchased a horn bonnet and paid a horse for it. Next he bought a shield, paying a horse, kept it five years, then he bought the Never-sits-down-shield. Some Blood Indians stole the last from its tripod one evening. Next he bought a disc of brass used as a headdress and war medicine for which he gave a horse. Four years afterward he sold it and bought a horse bonnet for which he also paid a horse. Five years later his father died with whose body he placed the horse bonnet. Next he purchased an otter painted-tipi and later a weasel-tail suit. Next he bought a hair-lock suit at whose transfer the sun-offering songs were rendered. Some time after this, his brother-in-law then upon his death bed, gave him a medicine-pipe but he did not go through the transferring ceremony whence the pipe was sold to Three-bears.

Then Bear-skin bought the striped painted-tipi which was the last thing he owned. Bear-skin is now about seventy-five years old and says that when a man has once bought many different medicine bundles he is spoken of as a wealthy man although he may in reality be very poor.

When we say that it is one's religious duty to own bundles we have in mind several obligations. For one thing all bundles should be properly cared for. Though owned by an individual, others are not free to stand idly by and see him shirk the requirements of the ritual. Hence, it follows that competent owners should always be found. As one man or even a few men cannot afford to own all the bundles many must come forward to bear part of the burden. On the other hand, the feeling is that a man owes something to himself. We suppose that in all religions there are definite compensations; anyhow a Blackfoot expects long life, health, and happiness to follow the ownership and proper care of bundles. Thus it becomes a part of his duty to take out insurance, as it were. Even the ex-owner of a bundle is believed to participate forever, though to a less degree, in this insurance against the wrath of the supernatural.

On the social side a man is judged wealthy and resourceful if many important bundles have passed through his hands. It was formerly a custom to call all the married men together for a formal smoke when each in turn announced the bundles he had owned and the amount of property sacrificed. Those having a long list were cheered while those having a short one were ridiculed. There is also something like the recognition of intellectual attainments in the respect accorded those who learn many rituals and show skill in conducting the ceremonies. Thus, it will be said, that A must be well informed and wise because he owned many bundles. Even though one may fall a victim to utter poverty, he may still, if the ex-owner of many bundles, be spoken of as wealthy and powerful.

If A transfers a bundle to B, the latter must give the former presents of horses or other property. There seems to be no fixed price, but B is expected to give as much as A dispensed when he himself secured the bundle. A announces before the people that he gave so many horses, blankets, etc., whence B can ill afford to give less; in fact, it is expected that he give more.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> New-breast, an informant, says that when a bundle owner is about to sell his bundle he calls on a man to transfer it and usually makes arrangements with him to try to procure as much as he can for it. During the ceremony, the transferer prompts the purchaser as to what he must pay for each song or object in the bundle, the owner keeping silent as to the fees. While the transfer is going on the purchaser is frequently cheered to distract his attention and thus lead him to pay larger fees. As the transferer is paid for his work by the bundle owner he usually tries to induce the purchaser to buy the bundle, telling him that he can sell it some day. Some, of course, gain through the transaction, while others lose. For instance, one man may buy a bundle for six horses, and sell it for ten, while the second purchaser may sell it for only five horses. The idea all through the transfer is to get as much in fees as possible. Although a man may not get as much for a bundle as he paid for it, he cannot take it back.

Thus, the tendency would be to increase the expense, a supposition confirmed by our informants for, whereas for example, medicine-pipes formerly required but two or three horses, they now often go to thirty head. This tendency toward increased valuation seems not to be considered by the Blackfoot, but they do regard a bundle as a good investment because of its absolute indestructible nature and its ready convertibility. As stated elsewhere, the bundle may be lost or destroyed without seriously damaging the owner, since he owns the ritual which is immaterial. Further, most bundles can be forced upon another against his will. For example, a pipe owner wishing to convert his bundle into property selects a well-to-do man and forces the transfer, thus making sure of full return on his investment. However, it is not always possible to realize in full for when a man makes a vow to secure a bundle, the owner has no recourse but to accept whatever the transferrer is able to give. Even at other times, the transferee may defy ridicule and give something less than the transferrer received. Again, the bundle may fall into disrepute and be taken for a small return. All these are, however, exceptions. While with us young men are exhorted to open a savings account, among the Blackfoot they are advised to become owners of medicine bundles. Even after transferring a bundle to another, one may be called upon to officiate in its ceremony for which he receives fees, which is an additional source of profit. Since bundles are frequently transferred such returns are almost as sure as annuities. Should a bundle owner die with it in his possession, it will be cared for by some ex-owner and eventually transferred by him to a new owner, the family, or heirs, of the deceased receiving the property given, less a fee for the administrator. Thus, it is clear that the system of bundle ownership and transfer has a recognized economic function, remotely similar to the potlatch, though we see no basis for assuming an historical relation.

The relatives of a bundle purchaser may coöperate in supplying horses and other property. It often happens that a man purchasing a bundle is himself poor and able to offer but a single horse. In such cases it is customary for a herald to ride about the camp making a public announcement that so-and-so is about to purchase a bundle and that it is incumbent upon his relatives to bring in horses and other property so that he may make proper return. So far as we could learn, such coöperation was usual, since only a few wealthy head men were able to purchase large and important bundles without such help. Individuals who thus contributed, had no property rights in the bundle nor privileges of any kind, except that when the bundle was again transferred, they expected to receive an equal return for what they contributed.

The following is a typical announcement of a transfer, translated from a



text on the transfer of an otter painted-tipi: "Married-men, old-men, and women, take heed! He invites you; he is to receive a medicine; Tail-feathers-coming-over-the-hill is his name. That there yellow painted-tipi you see, is the place. Come to help him out with many things, this here man that is to receive the medicine. Chief Heavy-runner, gather things together. You Fat-roasters (a band) get together all things needed for this transfer, for this is also your chief that is to receive medicine."

Another interesting point is that the transferrer and transferee are often spoken of as father and son. Thus, if A buys a bundle from B, and C leads the transfer ceremony, B is the father, A, the son, and C is called the transferrer. The bundle owner and his wife are always the father and mother, while the purchaser and his wife are always the son and daughter. Even in the case of a bundle owner himself transferring the bundle, he is still the father, though this is seldom the case as a third person must always be called on to lead the transfer.

Should one of the men be single, he must secure a female relative to take the woman's part and in consequence she would be identified with the bundle so long as he owned it. Weasel-tail suits, hair-lock suits, shields and many small bundles do not require a woman, but with these exceptions the owner's wife has a definite place and function. Thus, a transfer ceremony requires at least six persons: the owner and his wife, the prospective owner and his wife, and the conductor of the transfer ceremony and wife. A man is not supposed to transfer his own bundle. The relation of father and son, mother and daughter, reminds one of the adoption feature of the Dakota hunka. On the other hand, the Dakota make this adoption the primary phase of the ceremony, whereas among the Blackfoot, it is an empty form. Among the Omaha, Pawnee, and perhaps other tribes, bundles change hands at the death of their owner and usually pass by inheritance to the nearest of kin. Now, the hereditary feature is wanting among the Blackfoot. It is true that among them a son may receive the bundle of a deceased father but only after the proper transfer ceremony has been performed. The chances are, however, that it will go to a stranger. Any way the universal tendency to transfer all bundles to anyone whatsoever, even though alien, is conclusive evidence of the non-hereditary character of Blackfoot bundle ownership. Finally, we seem to have the transfer conception displacing the usual hereditary form of bundle transmission.



## GENERAL DISCUSSION.

It remains to place the Blackfoot in Plains culture with respect to individually owned rituals. A résumé of the literature for this area brings to hand nothing strictly comparable to the Blackfoot scheme, but even where parallels are suggested the information is so meager or fragmentary that no definite statement can be made. On the other hand, the fundamental conceptions in bundle rituals are so in evidence among the Blackfoot, that even their objective characters could scarcely escape the notice of a naïve observer: whence, it seems likely that if such were to be found among other tribes some references would find their way into our literature. Such traces have come to notice for the Pawnee, the Dakota, the Gros Ventre, the Cheyenne, and the Hidatsa. If we take the very general conception of a ritualistic bundle we may add the Omaha, Arapaho, Crow, Plains Cree, Assiniboiné, Menomini, Sauk and Fox, Winnebago, and Osage. No doubt there are still others. In this survey, we exclude the mere bundle of accessories, or outfits, often carried by a doctor or a shaman as the tools of his trade. We have pointed out that the Blackfoot pipe bundle was of a distinct type with quite a restricted distribution (p. 165). Again, we found hints of a Hidatsa parallel to the iniskim bundle (p. 244). On the other hand, the finding of certain Blackfoot bundles among the Sarsi, Gros Ventre, and the Ft. Belknap Assiniboiné rather emphasizes the Blackfoot claim to priority in their development because of known contact relationships. With this we almost exhaust the known specific correspondences.

Mr. Skinner found numerous bundles among the Menomini, but chiefly for war. These are true bundles with which are associated song rituals, said to originate in a supernatural experience; but here the resemblance to the Blackfoot bundle seems to end. The transfer conception does not appear. According to Skinner, the Winnebago had analogous bundles, also the Sauk and Fox and the Omaha, but there is no detailed information available. Mr. Grinnell reports similar bundles among the Pawnee and Dr. Speck among the Osage. Mr. Harrington collected some of these southern types which, so far as we know, are analogous to the Menomini. Some Osage bundles examined by the writer were strikingly like the Menomini bundles collected by Mr. Skinner. Hence, we may say tentatively that we have here another type of bundle with little evidence of historic relationship to the Blackfoot type.

Again, what Rev. Wilson reports on a series of objects from the Hidatsa

does not give us a bundle of the Blackfoot type. His shrine is, it is true, a kind of bundle but his medicine bag is but a receptacle containing various small groups, each of which would be either considered a separate bundle by the Blackfoot or the whole as a doctor's outfit. While many details noted by Wilson are nearer the Blackfoot than anything we have so far encountered, the differences are very great. On the other hand, Wilson has given us oral information to the effect that something like the Blackfoot transfer conception exists, though apparently not so formalized and fundamental.

Turning now to Grinnell's account of the Cheyenne arrows and hat we find about the same methods of handling bundles as practised by the Blackfoot. Many of the details are strikingly alike; for example the taboos, as keeping dogs out of the tipi, striking the poles as a warning, not to spit inside, etc.; again, the rules for handling the bundles are similar, as taking in and out morning and night, moving around in the direction of the sun, etc. On the other hand, the idea of ownership seems different, lacking the extreme individual character of the Blackfoot and showing no similar conception of the transfer.<sup>1</sup>

The same writer's remarks on the Pawnee are likewise suggestive.

"In the lodge or house of every Pawnee of influence, hanging on the west side, and so opposite the door, is the sacred bundle neatly wrapped in buckskin, and black with smoke and age. What these bundles contain we do not know. Sometimes, from the ends, protrude bits of scalps, and the tips of pipe stems and slender sticks, but the whole contents of the bundle are known only to the priests and to its owner — perhaps, not always even to him. The sacred bundles are kept on the west side of the lodge, because, being thus furthest from the door, fewer people will pass by them than if they were hung in any other part of the lodge. Various superstitions attach to these bundles. In the lodges where certain of them are kept it is forbidden to put a knife in the fire; in others, a knife may not be thrown; in others, it is not permitted to enter the lodge with the face painted; or again, a man cannot go in if he has feathers tied in his head.

On certain sacred occasions the bundles are opened, and their contents form part of the ceremonial of worship."<sup>2</sup>

The opening of the Blackfoot pipe bundles at the first thunder in the spring has also a Pawnee parallel:—

"In the old days when they had buffalo meat, they used to make a sacrifice at the time of the first thunder in the spring. The next day after it had thundered, all the people would go into the sacred lodge, where the sacred bundles were kept at that time. When they had all come together, the priest would open the bundles and take out the sacred things, among which were Indian tobacco and some little pieces of scalp tied to a stick."

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<sup>1</sup> Grinnell, (d), 542-577.

<sup>2</sup> Grinnell, (e), 351-352.

<sup>3</sup> Grinnell, (e), 360.

All this sounds very much like Blackfoot. On the other hand, it should be noted that the pipe ceremony (*hako*) of the Pawnee is not of the Blackfoot type and that some of these bundles seem to be war bundles and, hence, likely to be of the Menomini type. Further, the Blackfoot association of tobacco planting with the beaver ritual, the beaver owners, astronomical duties, the thunder offerings of the pipe bundles, in a way recall Pawnee traits, but are on the other hand rather secondary associations in the Blackfoot scheme. Hence, while there are hints of affinities between the Pawnee and Blackfoot bundles, a conclusion must await further information.

Among the Pawnee there seem to be village bundles and among the Winnebago clan bundles, the keepers of which were so chosen as to keep them within their respective clans.<sup>1</sup> Something like this has been reported for the Sauk and Fox and the Hidatsa. Nothing of this kind appears among the Blackfoot, for neither their bands nor tribal divisions look upon bundles as other than individual possessions. In the transfer they pass readily from Piegan to Blood or North Blackfoot, or even to a Sarsi or Gros Ventre.

The Blackfoot sun dance is inseparably associated with the ritual to a bundle; this has its analogies among the Hidatsa and Crow, also among the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa. On the other hand, this feature is wanting in the sun dance of the Dakota group, suggesting a line of cleavage here also.

The distribution of dry painting (p. 254) and other facts suggest looking to the southwest for analogies. Bundles with rituals have not been reported, to our knowledge, among the Pueblo tribes. Among the Navajo, the shamans have bundles of an objective form suggesting the Blackfoot type but these are described as merely receptacles for materials needed in ceremonies.<sup>2</sup> The so-called chants have, it is true, certain general resemblances to the song rituals of the Blackfoot, but there the parallel ends. The Navajo mythical conceptions and symbols are of the southwest type and foreign to the Northern Plains. Even the resemblance of the dry painting on Blackfoot incense altars to the chant paintings of the Navajo is very general. The dry paintings of the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Dakota, and Blackfoot are much more alike among themselves than any one of them is like the Navajo type. It may all be that the idea of dry painting came in from the southwest, but its ceremonial associations are different among these Plains tribes.

Returning to the Blackfoot and looking at their whole series of bundle rituals we are impressed by the uniformity of structure suggesting that all sprang from one parent conception. Naturally, direct evidence for this

<sup>1</sup> Radin, 213.

<sup>2</sup> Franciscan Fathers, 382.

is lacking. The size, scope, and functions of the beaver bundle rituals all lead us to the assumption that it was the first formulated one and that the others have been constructed on the same general plan. However this may be, a recognized bundle scheme exists and holds for all. Thus, we find shields, headdresses, and shirts of the common Plains type associated with a bundle ritual of the Blackfoot type. We believe this is best explained on the assumption that such objects were conceived of as in some way associated with the supernatural and that their initial owners were placed in rapport with it, which to them implied the transfer ceremony. We were told that objects captured in war were often regarded as bundles for which rituals were subsequently dreamed or perhaps consciously constructed (p. 136). The bundle scheme is so well known that most every Blackfoot tends to interpret objects prized by others as bundles and to expect a ritual, whence it follows that in many cases a ritual will be forthcoming. There can be little doubt that the unusual development of the social and investment character of the bundle transfer, has been an important factor in the crystallization of the fundamental transfer conception and its general diffusion among the whole people.

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## APPENDIX.

Since the publication of the preceding papers on Blackfoot culture some additional data have come to hand together with certain miscellaneous information.

*Tipi Foundations.* In Vol. 5, 111-114, we saw how the methods of setting up the first poles were of two types and had a peculiar distribution. We stated that the Mandan and Hidatsa used the Blackfoot method. Later information makes it necessary to revise this in that the Mandan formerly inclined to the three-pole Dakota method in contrast to the four-pole method of the Hidatsa. This shows a sharp line of cleavage between two neighboring tribes, the Hidatsa standing with the Crow and Blackfoot. Further, we may add the Northern Saulteaux and the Omaha to the users of the four-pole foundation.<sup>1</sup>

*Pottery.* In Vol. 5, 26, it was noted that Blackfoot traditions of pottery were probably intrusive because of their marked similarity to statements from the Gros Ventre and other tribes; but a recent book by Agnes C. Laut on "The Conquest of the Great Northwest" quotes for the first time extracts from the unpublished journal of two very early visitors to the Blackfoot country, Anthony Hendry and Matthew Cocking. The latter states that the Blackfoot used earthen pots for cooking utensils and moss for tinder. Now, all our traditional information from the Blackfoot, the information we doubted, seems to indicate that in the manufacture of pottery they employed a method of no firing, that is, the vessel was shaped, dried, and then rubbed with fat, after which it was put upon the fire and used. Quite recently, Mr. Skinner secured data from the Menomini of the same tenor, but still more definite, leaving little room for doubt that we have here a rather widely distributed type of no-fired pottery.

*Origin Myth for Horses.* Mr. Duvall obtained the following narrative said to have come from Head-carrier, long since dead: One night while two girls were sitting outside their tipi one of them looked up at the stars and said to the other, "I wish that star that shines so brightly were a man. If it were, I would marry him." Some time after, she went out for wood when a young man approached and said to her, "I have come for you. I am the star you wished to marry." The girl then remembered what she had said and went with the man. He took her up into the sky where there was another land. The young man had many different animals: buffalo, moose,

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<sup>1</sup> Skinner, 119; Fletcher and La Flesche, 96.



elk, bear, deer. After the couple had lived there some time, the man said to his wife, "I will give some of the animals to you and your people to use in place of dogs when traveling. First I wish you to choose from among the animals here." The woman chose the elks. Then the man said, "I will shape the elks differently from what they are now and then you may see them again." He drove them over a hill and removed their horns and made a mane and tail just like the horse. Then he drove them back to his wife. He made many different kinds of horses, black, white, pinto, buckskin colored, and roans. The woman was well pleased. He made a saddle of wood and told her how the rope was used with the horse. Then he rode one of the horses for buffalo and killed four with his bow and arrows. He said to his wife, "These horses will be used to run buffalo." Then he drove them down and took his wife to her own people. Since then the people have had horses which are called ponokomita, elk dog.

To this may be added part of a tale frequently told among the Piegan and Blood divisions recounting the exchange of horses for guns. It opens with details concerning the capture of Blood women by a Cree war party, but on the march four women escaped. An old Cree was sent after them. As he was bringing them back the women saw him stoop over to drink, pounced upon him and held his head under water. They went home with the scalp. Later, one of the Blood women and a man went to the Cree camp and arranged a truce. The next summer the Cree and Blood met and made peace and all the captive Blood women and children were returned. Four of the Blood were given rifles by the Cree but they did not know how to use them. The Cree taught them how to use them. The Blood in turn gave horses to the Cree who could not ride at all. Later, the Piegan obtained firearms. While some Piegan were out on the warpath they were attacked by a large number of Snake Indians. The Piegan fired on them and as they had never before seen guns they retreated. The first time the Piegan were fired on by the Cree they also fled from them for fear of the guns. All this is consistent with the belief that horses came in from the southwest and guns from the northeast.

*Prevention of Child Bearing.* Formerly and even now, many men and women claim power to regulate child bearing. In most cases no drugs are used. The rule is to give a charm or amulet, to stand over a smudge of sweetgrass before retiring and to paint with the "seventh paint." One very common charm is in the form of a butterfly, cut somewhat like a Maltese cross (p. 240) and beaded. This is worn on the neck or waist. A snake girdle or necklace is also used. This is a quite realistic beaded object something like a navel amulet. The butterfly, or moth, is, however, the usual source of appeal. By the same power, child bearing may be promoted, though at the hands of another individual.—Mr. Duvall.

*Mourning for the Dead.* Formerly, it was believed that after death a person becomes a ghost and goes to the Sand Hills. It is said they live like human beings, have lodges, horses, and other property and that they run mice on horseback, kill them, and use them for food just as other people do with buffalo. If a person die without wearing any clothes he goes to the Sand Hills, naked. Everything that has been buried with a person is taken to the Sand Hills. If a horse is killed soon after his death it is ridden to the Sand Hills. Should a person die under the influence of liquor his ghost will be a drinking ghost. Ghosts always annoy grave robbers.

The people know all about ghosts because of the medicinemen and women who had power to talk with them. In old times it was customary to bury the dead with plenty so that the ghost would not be in need when he came to the Sand Hills. Some of the dead were left in the tipis and all the property left in them. Sometimes horses were killed near the tipi or a horse with a saddle and bridle would be killed for the ghost to ride. A few hours before death the person is dressed. The favorite horses of the dead man have their tails cropped and their manes cut. Formerly, the dead were buried on some high butte or the body tied in a tree, but nowadays, the dead are buried underground. The bodies of chiefs are generally placed in a house built on some butte.

Mourners wear old clothes. Formerly men wore only a blanket and breechclout. The hair was cut two or three inches shorter than usual and allowed to hang loose. They do not paint nor wear ornaments of any kind. Usually, they live in a small tipi. Sometimes the mourners go some distance from the camp and cry and wail until someone makes them return. Some men have the little finger cut off up to the first joint or the nail. This is taken as a sign of great grief. Sometimes the period of mourning lasts from several months to a year. As a rule, owners of medicine-pipe bundles, beaver bundles, and other sacred bundles do not wear their mourning garments more than four days. Then they take a sweat bath, are repainted, and the pipe or other sacred object returned. Sometimes bundle owners, when losing a member of their family become discouraged because of the ill luck and attempt to destroy the bundle. Bundles are sometimes buried with their owners.

When a death occurred, all the household utensils were given away with the exception of some blankets. The mourners would live in this manner for some time.

At the death of a husband a woman cuts off her hair just below the ears but for another relative only two or three inches of hair are cut off, just as the men do. The hair is not braided. They also leave off their leggings and the legs are gashed. Formerly, it is said a widow wore a string

with one blue bead around each ankle. While mourning the women always leave off all ornaments and do not use paint on their faces. Sometimes mourners try to commit suicide but are usually prevented as they are watched closely.

The dead are buried very soon after death, as they are feared, except in the case of a great chief whose body is usually kept a day or two before burial. Only the relatives of the dead attend to the burial as ghosts are much feared. To avoid much handling of a dead body a sick person is dressed, and his face painted a few hours before death. If a stranger assists, he is paid a horse. An act of this kind is usually much appreciated.

Nowadays, the dead are buried underground but the full-bloods still fear the dead and do not assist with the burial. As a rule, only mixed-bloods are called upon to dress the corpse and attend to the interment. The truth is, that you could not hire an old full-blood Piegan to sit up alone with a corpse at any price. No matter how great a warrior he was, he would rather do anything than to spend the night alone with a dead person.—Duvall.

*Conventionalized Dandyism.* When Bad-old-man, an informant, was young, it was customary for all wealthy young single men to be well dressed. They were waited on a great deal. They usually wore the most expensive clothing, blankets, weasel-tail suits, war-bonnets, and horn bonnets. They were also the owners of shields, the medicine lance, the black-covered pipe, and other similar medicine objects. These were usually purchased as a means to show their wealth. The horses they rode were decorated with bells; their saddle blankets were of panther skin; and their bridles much ornamented. On their bridles was tied a stick with pendant feathers and the horse bonnets were used (p. 108). These things were not used all the time but whenever a dance was given or the camps moved. Therefore a wealthy young single man was always distinguishable from others.

In the tipi their beds were always placed on the guest side near the rear. When camp was to be broken, these men usually went a short distance away and sat on a butte or hill while the parents took down the tipi, performed other duties, saddled the young man's horse and lead it up to where he sat. They ride a short distance to one side of the rest of the people. When they reach camp, they wait until all is ready, when they are asked to come down to their tipis. They usually carry whips with two lashes, a bone or horn handle, and a beaded wristlet, while some carry an ornamented war club.

These young men used to paint their lips with the white paint after meals to make people believe that they were not great eaters. They of course, do not always turn out the greatest war chiefs, for it has often happened that poor young men have gone on the warpath, captured horses, bought fine

clothes, and medicine bundles and become leaders among the people.—  
Mr. Duvall.

This is of some interest since in the older literature of the Missouri Area we find occasional mention of these dandies but no where any such clear account as the above.



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